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AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THOSE PERSONS

WHO HAVE BEEN DISTINGUISHED IN

A M E R I C A,

AS

ADVENTURERS,	DIVINES,
STATESMEN,	WARRIORS,
PHILOSOPHERS,	AUTHORS,

AND OTHER REMARKABLE CHARACTERS,

Comprehending a Recital of

The EVENTS connected with their LIVES and ACTIONS.

VOL. I.

BY JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D.

"Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi:
Quique sacerdotes casti, cum vita manebat:
Quique pii vates, et Phœbo digna locuti:
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes:
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo:"

VIRGIL, Æn. vi. 660.

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NO apology is neceſſary for the appearance of this work, if its utility be admitted.

My firſt intention was to place the names in alphabetical order; but, on farther conſideration, it was found to be impracticable, unleſs the whole work were before me at one view. A chronological arrangement appeared, on the whole, equally proper, and more in my power. Should any deviation from the exact order take place, it muſt be aſcribed to a deficiency of materials; which however, it is hoped, will be ſupplied, at ſome future time.

BOSTON, JANUARY, 1794.

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A

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

On the Circumnavigation of AFRICA *by the* ANCIENTS; *and its probable Consequence, the Population of some Part of* AMERICA.

THE first navigators, of whom we have any account, were the Phenicians, who were scattered along the coasts of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea. As early as the days of Moses, they had extended their navigation beyond the pillars of Hercules, on the western coast of Africa, toward the south; and as far northward as the island of Britain, whence they imported tin and lead,* which according to the universal testimony of the ancients, were not then found in any other country.

From the accounts given in ancient history of the expeditions of Sesostris, King of Egypt, some have been led to conclude, that he made a discovery of *all* the coasts of Africa.† However this might be, there is no doubt that he opened, or revived a commercial intercourse with India and Ethiopia, by way of the Red Sea. It hath also been thought, that the voyages of the Phenicians and Hebrews to Ophir, in the time of Solomon, were nothing more nor less than circumnavigations of Africa.‡

But

* See Numbers, chap. xxxi, ver. 22.

† Forster's History of Voyages and Discoveries, page 7.

‡ Ibid.

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But, leaving these, for the present, in the region of conjecture; the earliest regular account which we have, of any voyage round the continent of Africa, is that performed by order of Necho, King of Egypt, and recorded by Herodotus; the most ancient historian, except the sacred writers, whose works have come down to our time. His character as a historian is, "candid in his acknowledgment of what is uncertain, and absolute when he speaks of what he knows." The date of Necho's reign is fixed by Rollin 616 years before Christ. The date of Herodotus' history is placed by Dufresnoy in the third year of the 83d Olympiad, answering to 446 years before Christ. So that he must have penned his narration of this voyage, in less than two centuries after it was performed. I shall give his account at large, in a literal translation, from the Geneva edition of his work, in Greek and Latin, by Stephanus.* In describing the several great divisions of the earth, he speaks thus:

"I wonder at those who have divided and distinguished Lybia,† Asia and Europe, between which there is not a little difference. If indeed Europe agrees with the others in length, yet in breadth it does not seem, to me, worthy to be compared. For, Lybia shews itself to be *surrounded by the sea*, except where it joins to Asia. Necos, King of the Egyptians, being the first of those, whom we know, to

* Lib. iv, chap. 42.

† Lybia is the name by which the whole continent of Africa was called by the Greeks.

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to demonſtrate it. After he had deſiſted from digging a ditch from the Nile to the Arabian gulf (in which work above twenty thouſand Egyptians periſhed; he betook himſelf to raiſing armies and building ſhips, partly in the north ſea* and partly in the Arabian gulf, at the Red Sea, of which they yet ſhow ſome remains.†) He ſent certain Phenicians in ſhips, commanding them, that having paſſed the pillars of Hercules, they ſhould penetrate the north ſea, and ſo return to Egypt. The Phenicians therefore looſing from the Red Sea, went away into the ſouthern ſea, and, directing their ſhips to land, *made a ſeed time*, at the end of autumn, that they might expect a harveſt, and might aſſiduouſly coaſt Lybia. Then, having gathered the harveſt, they ſailed.‡ Thus, two years being conſumed; in the third year, coming round the pillars of Hercules, they returned to Egypt; reporting things which with me have no credit, but may perhaps with others, that *in ſailing round Lybia they had the Sun on the right hand.*§ In this manner it was firſt known.

"In the ſecond place, the Carthaginians, have ſaid, that a certain Sataſpes, ſon of Teaſpis

* By the north ſea is meant the Mediterranean, which lies north of Egypt.

† Lib. ii, chap. 48.

‡ "Into whatever part of Lybia ſeamen came, they waited for harveſt, and when they had reaped, they looſed from the ſhore." (Note of Stephanus.

§ i. e. They being in the ſouthern hemiſphere and ſailing northward, ſaw the Sun riſe on the right hand.

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of Teaſpis, a man of the Achamenides did not ſail round Lybia, when he was ſent; but being deterred by the length of the navigation and the ſolitude of the country, returned home, having not fulfilled the labour which his mother enjoined him. For he had violated a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, the ſon of Megabyſus; and for that cauſe, being by Xerxes condemned to be crucified, his mother, who was ſiſter to Darius, liberated him; becauſe, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would impoſe on him a puniſhment greater than the King's command. Wherefore it became neceſſary for him to ſail round all Lybia, till he ſhould come to the Arabian gulf. Xerxes conſenting to this, Sataſpes went into Egypt, and, having there taken a ſhip and companions, ſailed to the pillars of Hercules. Having paſſed them, and having doubled the promontory of Lybia called Syloes,* he kept a ſouthern courſe. Having traverſed much of the ſea in many months, and finding much more time neceſſary, he turned about and came back to Egypt. Returning to Xerxes, he reported, that in viſiting the remoteſt coaſts, he had ſeen ſmall men, clothed in Phenician garments; who, at the approach of his ſhip, fled to the mountains and left their villages; which he entered, and took nothing from them but cattle. He gave this reaſon for not having ſailed round Lybia, that his ſhip could ſail no farther; but was ſtopped. Xerxes did not believe him, and becauſe he had not performed

* Now called Cape Bojador in the 26th degree of north latitude.

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performed his engagement, ordered him to undergo his deſtined puniſhment."

To the authenticity of this circumnavigation of the African continent, the following objections have been made:

Firſt, it is ſaid that "the veſſels which the ancients employed, were ſo ſmall as not to afford ſtowage for proviſions, ſufficient to ſubſiſt a crew during a long voyage."

Secondly, "their conſtruction was ſuch that they could ſeldom venture to depart far from land, and their mode of ſteering along the coaſt was ſo circuitous and ſlow, that we may pronounce a voyage from the Mediterranean to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, to have been an undertaking beyond their power to accompliſh; in ſuch a manner as to render it in any degree ſubſervient to commerce. To this deciſion, the account preſerved by Herodotus of a voyage performed by ſome Phenician ſhips employed by the King of Egypt, can hardly be conſidered as repugnant."*

I have choſen to conſider both theſe objections together, becauſe that each one helps to deſtroy the

* Robertſon's India, p. 175, American edition.

The objections taken from this learned author were not made directly againſt the voyage mentioned by Herodotus; but rather againſt the poſſibility of a paſſage to India by way of the Atlantic Ocean, and round the African continent. However, as he brings this voyage into view in the ſame argument, and ſpeaks of it dubiouſly, it is conceived that his ſentiments are not miſrepreſented in the above quotations.

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the other. For if the veſſels were ſo ſmall, as not to contain proviſions for a long voyage, this was one reaſon for the navigators to keep their courſe near the land; that they might find water, fruits, game and cattle, on the ſhore, as well as fiſh, on the ſhoals and rocks near the coaſt, for their ſubſiſtance. And if it was their deſign to keep near the land, for the ſake of diſcovery, ſmall veſſels were beſt adapted to the purpoſe; becauſe they could paſs over ſhoals, through ſmall openings, between iſlands and rocks, which are generally ſituate near the coaſts of great continents. Beſides, if the veſſels were ſmall, they could carry but ſmall crews, who would not require very large quantities of proviſion.

But Herodotus has helped us to ſolve the difficulty reſpecting proviſions, in a manner perfectly agreeable to the practice of antiquity, though unknown to modern navigators. They went on ſhore and ſowed corn, and when it was ripe gathered the harveſt. This enables us to account for two circumſtances attending the voyage of Necho; the length of time employed, and the ſupply of proviſion, at leaſt of bread, conſumed in it.

Nor was the ſowing and reaping any loſs of time; for the monſoons in the Indian ocean would not permit them to proceed any faſter. A ſhip ſailing from the Red Sea with the N. E. monſoon, in the ſummer or autumn, would meet with the S. W. monſoon, in the beginning of December, which muſt have detained her in ſome of the harbours, on the

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the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, till the next April. During this time, in that warm climate, corn might be ſown and reaped; and any other articles, either of proviſion or merchandiſe, might be taken on board. Then the N. E. monſoon would carry her to the ſouthern parts of Africa, into the region of variable winds. This regular courſe and changing of the monſoons was familiarly known to the navigators of Solomon's ſhips, and was the cauſe of their ſpending three years, in the voyage to and from Ophir. "In going and returning, they changed the monſoon ſix times, which made thirty ſix months. They needed no longer time to complete the voyage, and they could not perform it in leſs."†

It is not pleaded, that the voyage of Necho was undertaken for the ſake of commerce; or, if the authenticity of it were eſtabliſhed, that it would prove the practicability of a voyage from the Mediterranean to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, by the veſſels then in uſe, and the nautical ſkill then acquired. The voyage of which Herodotus ſpeaks might have been a voyage of diſcovery; ſuch an one as was perfectly agreeable to the genius of the people by whom it was performed, and of the prince, by whoſe order and at whoſe expenſe it was undertaken. "The progreſs of the Phenicians and Carthaginians, in their knowledge of the globe, was not owing entirely to the deſire of extending their trade from one country to another. Commerce was followed by its uſual effects, among both

thoſe

† Bruce's travels—B. ii, chap. 4.

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those people. It awakened curiosity, enlarged the ideas and desires of men, and incited them to bold enterprises. Voyages were undertaken, the sole object of which was to "*discover new countries and to explore unknown seas.*"* The knowledge acquired in these voyages of discovery might afterwards be subservient to commerce; and though the Phenicians might not think it convenient, to circumnavigate Africa, more than once, yet that they carried on a commercial intercourse with different parts of that country, and particularly with places situate on the eastern coast, in the Indian ocean, we have evidence from the sacred writings. In the reign of Solomon "the king's ships with the servants of Hiram and the navy of Tharshish every three years brought ivory,† apes and peacocks, besides silver and the gold of *Ophir*," which is with great reason supposed to be the country now called *Sofala* on the eastern coast of Africa, in the southern hemisphere; as the learned Bruce, in his late book of travels, has satisfactorily proved.

The prophet Ezekiel, who was contemporary with Necho, King of Egypt, in the account which he gives of the merchandise of Tyre, enumerates several commodities, which it is well known belong to Africa, "horns of ivory and ebony, and the persons of men."* We may form some idea of the strength and materials of the ships of the Tyrians, and of their

* Robertson's America—Vol. I, p. 11, 4th edit.

† 2 Chron. viii. 18, ix. 21.

* Ezekiel, chap. xxvii, ver. 13, 15.

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their ſkill in navigation, from the following paſſages in his apoſtrophe to Tyrus. "They have made all thy ſhip-boards of fir trees of Senir; they have taken cedars of Lebanon to make maſts for thee; of the oaks of Baſhan have they made thine oars. Thy wiſe men, O Tyrus, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal, the wiſe men thereof were thy calkers. The ſhips of Tharſhiſh did ſing of thee; thou waſt repleniſhed and made very glorious in the midſt of the ſeas; thy rowers have brought thee into great waters." Though we have no particular deſcription of the ſize or model of their ſhips; yet they certainly had maſts, ſails and oars; their pilots and calkers were wiſe men, and they were not afraid to ſail in great waters, by which is probably meant the Ocean, in diſtinction from the Mediterranean.

Of the form and ſtructure of the Grecian veſſels we have a more particular knowledge. "They were of inconſiderable burden, and moſtly without decks. They had only one maſt, and were ſtrangers to the uſe of anchors."* But then it muſt be remembered, that "the Phenicians, who inſtructed the Greeks in other uſeful arts, did not communicate to them that extenſive knowledge of navigation, which they themſelves poſſeſſed."† We may hence conclude that the ſhips of the Phenicians were ſuperior to the Grecian veſſels; and we have no evidence from the ſtructure of their veſſels or their mode of ſailing, to warrant a doubt of the abil-

ity

* Robertſon's America—Vol. I, p. 15.

† Ibid. p. 14.

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ity of their ſhips or ſeamen, to perform a voyage round the continent of Africa in three years.

To an European theoriſt ſuch a voyage may ſeem leſs practicable than to an American. The Europeans have uſually employed none but ſhips of great burden, in their trade to India and China; but ſince the Americans have viſited thoſe countries, ſloops of fifty or ſixty tons have ſailed round the Cape of Good Hope to China, and round Cape Horn to the northweſt coaſt of America, and acroſs the north Pacific Ocean. If any doubt can yet remain, it may be entirely removed by the recollection of a voyage performed in the year 1789, by Lieutenant Bligh of the Britiſh navy; who, being turned adrift by his mutinous crew, traverſed the ſouth Pacific Ocean, above twelve hundred leagues, in a boat of twenty three feet long, without a deck, in much ſtormy weather, with ſcanty proviſions; and having paſſed many dangerous rocks and ſhoals, among unknown iſlands, arrived in forty one days at a Dutch ſettlement in Timor, one of the Moluccas.* The objections then againſt the reality of Necho's voyage, from the ſize and ſtructure of the Phenician veſſels, and the want of proviſion, are not ſo formidable on examination, as at the firſt appearance.†

A third

* See the printed narrative by Lieut. Bligh.

† Since this diſſertation was ſent to the preſs I have met with the following account of an adventure which adds to the credibility of the circumnavigation of Africa in ſmall embarkations.

In

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A third objection against the credibility of this early circumnavigation is, that several writers of the greatest eminence among the ancients, and most distinguished for their knowledge of geography, regarded this account rather as an amusing tale, than the history of a real transaction; and, either entertained doubts concerning the possibility of sailing round Africa, or absolutely denied it."*

That

In 1534 when the Portuguese had established a government in India; Badur King of Kambaya being at war with the great Mogul sought assistance from the Portuguese and offered them the liberty of building a fort at Diu. As soon as this liberty was granted and the plan of the fort was drawn, James Botello a person skilful in the affairs of India, having been in disgrace with John King of Portugal, and being anxious to recover the favour of that Prince resolved to carry the first news of it to him. Having obtained a copy of the plan he set out from India in a bark of *sixteen feet and a half long, nine broad and four and a half deep;* with three Portuguese, two others, and his own slaves. He pretended that he was going to Kambaya, but when he was out at sea, made known his design to go to Lisbon; at which they were all astonished. Being overcome by fair words they proceeded on their way, till finding themselves reduced to distress, the slaves agreed to kill Botello; but after killing a servant they were put to death themselves. With the four who remained, Botello held on his course, doubled the southern cape of Africa and at length arrived at Lisbon; where the bark was immediately *burnt*; that no man might see it was possible to perform that voyage in so small a vessel. The King was greatly pleased with the news, and restored Botello to his favour, without any other reward for so daring an adventure.

See a collection of Voyages and Travels, in quarto, printed at London, 1745, by Thomas Astley. Vol. 1. p. 82.

* Robertson's India, p. 175.

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That the Roman geographers and historians did doubt and disbelieve the story, is very evident; and the causes are not far to be sought.

The first was the jealousy of the Phenicians. "Whatever acquaintance with the remote regions of the earth the Phenicians or Carthaginians acquired, was concealed from the rest of mankind with a mercantile jealousy. Every thing relative to the course of navigation was a secret of state, as well as a mystery of trade. Extraordinary facts are recorded concerning their solicitude to prevent other nations from penetrating into what they wished should remain undivulged."* One of these extraordinary facts is thus related by Strabo. The Romans, being desirous to discover the places, whence the Carthaginians fetched tin and amber, "sent a vessel, with orders to sail in the wake of a Phenician vessel. This being observed by the Carthaginian, he purposely ran his vessel among rocks and sand banks; so that it was lost, together with that of the inquisitive Roman. The patriotic commander of the former was indemnified for his loss by his country."†

A second reason was the pride of the Romans. If, as Pope tells us,

"With honest scorn, the first fam'd Cato view'd
Rome, learning arts from Greece whom she subdu'd;"

the same pride would make their wise men scorn to learn geography or navigation, theoretically, from those who were best able to teach them. It is acknowledged

* Robertson's America, vol. i, p. 13.

† Forster's History of Voyages and Discoveries, chap. i.

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knowledged that the Romans "did not imbibe that commercial ſpirit and ardor for diſcovery which diſtinguiſhed their rivals."* It muſt alſo be obſerved, that there was but little intercourſe between them; and that the Carthaginians were deficient in thoſe ſciences for which the Romans were famous. Among the Phenicians and Carthaginians, the ſtudy and knowledge of their youth were confined to writing, arithmetic, and mercantile accounts; whilſt polite literature, hiſtory and philoſophy were in little repute; and by a law of Carthage, the ſtudy of the Greek language was prohibited; leſt any communication ſhould be carried on with their enemies.†

A third reaſon was the opinion which the wiſeſt men among the Romans had formed, and to which they obſtinately adhered, concerning the five zones, and the impoſſibility of paſſing from one hemiſphere to the other, becauſe of the torrid zone lying between. This doctrine of the zones is ſo fully repreſented by Dr. Robertſon,‡ that I need only refer the reader to what he has written on the ſubject.

But notwithſtanding the doubts and the infidelity of the Roman philoſophers, and the great deference paid to them by this learned and cautious inquirer; there is one circumſtance which *almoſt* convinced him of the reality of Necho's voyage, as

* Robertſon's America, vol. i, p. 14.

† Rollin's Ancient Hiſtory, book ii, part i, ſect. 7.

‡ Robertſon's America, vol. i, note 8.

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as related by Herodotus. It is this, that the Phenicians, in sailing round Africa, "had the Sun on their right hand;" which Herodotus, with his usual modesty and candor says, "with me has no credit, though it may with others." On this the Doctor, judiciously remarks, "The science of astronomy was in that early period so imperfect, that it was by experience only, that the Phenicians could come at the knowledge of this fact; they durst not, without this, have ventured to assert what would have appeared to be an improbable fiction."* Indeed if they had not known it by experience, there is not the least conceivable reason for their inventing such a report; nor even for the entrance of such an idea into their imagination. The modest doubt of Herodotus is another argument in favour of the truth and genuineness of it; for as he had no experience to guide him, and the idea was new, it was very proper for him to hesitate in admitting it, though he showed his impartiality by inserting it in his relation.

So much for the voyage performed by the Phenicians under the orders of Necho, which is the *first* proof produced by Herodotus, of his position, that "Lybia is surrounded by the sea, except where it joins Asia."

His *second* proof is not so conclusive, nor is the design of his introducing it so obvious. It is the relation of a voyage undertaken by Sataspes a Persian, whose punishment was commuted from crucifixion

* Robertson's India, note 54.

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fixion to ſailing round Lybia; which voyage he began, but returned by the ſame route, not having completed it. The reaſon which he gave for returning was, that "his ſhip was ſtopped and could ſail no farther," which his ſovereign did not believe, and therefore put him to death, to which he had before been condemned.

The only evidence which this ſtory can afford is, that the circumnavigation of the African continent was, at that time, thought practicable The mother of Sataſpes thought ſo, or ſhe would not have propoſed it; and Xerxes thought ſo, or he would not have diſbelieved the ſtory of the ſhip being ſtopped; by which expreſſion was meant that the ſea was no farther navigable, by reaſon of land.

The exact date of this voyage is not aſcertained; but as Xerxes reigned twelve years, and died in the year 473 before Chriſt, it could not have been much more than thirty years, preceding the time when Herodotus publiſhed his hiſtory.

The voyage of Hanno, the Carthaginian, is thus briefly mentioned by Pliny: "In the flouriſhing ſtate of Carthage, Hanno having ſailed round from Gades [Cadiz] to the border of Arabia, committed to writing an account of his voyage; as did Himilco, who was at the ſame time ſent to diſcover the extreme parts of Europe."* The character of Pliny, as a hiſtorian, is, that "he collected from all authors,

* Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, lib. 2, cap. 67.

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authors, good and bad, who had written before him; and that his work is a mixture of truth and error, which it is difficult to separate." An instance, in confirmation of this remark, occurs in this very chapter; where he speaks of some merchants, sailing from India, and thrown by a tempest, on the coast of Germany. He also mentions a voyage, made by Eudoxus, from the Arabian gulf to Gades; and another of Coelius Antipater, from Spain to Ethiopia.

Of these voyages, that of Hanno is best authenticated. He sailed from Carthage with sixty gallies, each carrying fifty oars, having on board thirty thousand men and women, with provisions and articles of traffic. The design of this equipment was to plant colonies along the western shore of Africa, which the Carthaginians, from priority of discovery, and from its contiguity to their territory, considered as their own dominion. Hanno was absent five years, on this colonizing expedition; but there is no *certainty* of his having proceeded any farther southward, than the bay of Benin, in the eighth degree of north latitude. A fragment of his journal, which, at his return, he deposited in the temple of Saturn, at Carthage, is now extant; and though it has been treated as fabulous by several authors, ancient and modern, yet, its authenticity has been vindicated by M. Bougainville, in the 26th volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles

Lettres;

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Lettres; where a French tranſlation of it is given from the Greek, into which language it was rendered from the original Punic.

Concerning the voyage of Eudoxus, the following account is given by Bruce.* He was ſent by Ptolomy Euergetes, as an ambaſſador to India, to remove the bad effects of the King's conduct in the beginning of his reign, who had extorted contributions from merchants of that and other trading countries. Eudoxus returned after the King's death, and was wrecked on the coaſt of Ethiopia; where he diſcovered the prow of a ſhip, which had ſuffered the ſame fate. It was the figure of a horſe; and a ſailor, who had been employed in European voyages, knew this to have been part of one of thoſe veſſels, which traded on the Atlantic ocean; of which trade Gades was the principal port. This circumſtance amounted to a proof, that there was a paſſage round Africa, from the Indian to the Atlantic ocean. The diſcovery was of no greater importance to any perſon, than to Eudoxus himſelf; for, ſometime afterward, falling under the diſpleaſure of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and being in danger of his life, he fled; and embarking on the Red Sea, ſailed round Africa and came to Gades.

This voyage of Eudoxus was treated as a fable by Strabo, the Roman geographer, who wrote about a century and a half after the time when it is ſaid to have been performed. The true cauſe of the incredulity

* Travels, book ii, chap. 5. The voyage of Eudoxus was originally written by *Poſidonius*, but I have not met with that autho

credulity of him and of other Roman authors in respect to these voyages and discoveries, was the doctrine of the zones; to which they inflexibly adhered, and which entirely precluded all conviction.

These are all the evidences which I have had opportunity to examine respecting the question of the circumnavigation of Africa,* and, upon the whole, there appears to be this peculiarity attending the subject, that it was believed by those who lived nearest to the time when the voyage of Necho is said to have been made; and, that in proportion to the distance of time afterward, it was doubted, disbelieved and denied; till its credibility was established beyond all doubt by the Portuguese adventurers in the fifteenth century.

The credibility of the Egyptian or Phenician voyages, round the continent of Africa, being admitted, and the certainty of the Carthaginian voyages and colonies on the western shore of Africa being established; we may extend our inquiry to the probability of what has been advanced by some writers, and doubted or denied by others, the population of some part of America from beyond the Atlantic.

The

* Dr. *Forster*, in his history of voyages and discoveries (chap. i) refers to three German authors, *Gesner*, *Schlozer* and *Michaelis*, who have written on this subject, and observes, that "the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phenicians and Egyptians is proved almost to a demonstration."

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The discovery of the Canary islands by the Carthaginians is a fact well attested. Pliny speaks of them as then destitute of inhabitants, but containing *(vestigia ædificiorum)* the remains of buildings. From this circumstance, it must appear, that they had been inhabited before the Carthaginian discovery. In Plutarch's time, the Fortunate Islands were not only inhabited, but were so celebrated for their fertility, that they were supposed to be the seat of the blessed.

When Madeira and Porto Santo were discovered by the Normans and Portuguese, both were uninhabited. A question then arises, if these islands were sometimes inhabited and at other times deserted, what became of their inhabitants? It must have been some uncommon event which could induce them to abandon so pleasant and fruitful a country without leaving a single family behind. If they perished in the islands, it is still more extraordinary; for it is a most singular circumstance that all the inhabitants of any place should be destroyed and yet the place itself remain. George Glas, who published a history of these islands in 1764, attempts to solve the inquiry thus.*

"Almost two thirds of the Canary islands are covered with calcined rocks, pumice stones, and black ashes, which have been formerly thrown out from volcanos; the remains of which are still to be seen, in every one of these islands. Many of the natives

* Page 167, 4to.

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natives might have been destroyed by these violent eruptions, and the remainder being terrified, might abandon their country, and go in quest of new habitations: but, where they went, is a question not easily solved; though some assert, that they passed over to America." An event exactly similar is said by the same author to have happened about thirty years before he wrote.* "A volcano broke out in the S. W. part of the island of Lancerotta, near the sea, but remote from habitation; which threw out such an immense quantity of ashes and stones, with so dreadful a noise, that many of the natives deserted their houses, and fled to Fuertaventura, another island, for the preservation of their lives."

But, whether we admit the conjecture, that, being thus obliged to quit the islands, they "passed over to America," or not; yet it is extremely probable, that, in some of the ancient circumnavigations of Africa, or in passing to and from these islands, or even in coasting the continent from the straights of Gibraltar, some vessels might be drawn by currents or driven by tempests, within the verge of the trade wind; "which begins not far to the southward of the straights, and blows nine months of the year, on the coast of Morocco." In this case, it would be next to impossible, for those who had met with any considerable damage in their masts, sails, or rigging, to run in any other direction, than before the wind to the westward; and this course

* Page 200.

course must bring them to the continent, or islands of America.

In confirmation of this remark, several facts have been adduced by way of proof. One is thus related by Glas;* "A few years ago, a small bark, laden with corn and passengers, bound from Lancerotta to Teneriffe, met with some disaster at sea, by which she was rendered incapable of getting to any of the Canary islands; and was obliged to run many days before the wind, till she came within two days sail of the coast of Caraccas, in South America; where she met an English ship, which supplied the surviving passengers with water, and directed her to the port of La Guiara, on that coast." La Guiara is one of the ports to which the trade from the Canaries is restricted by the King of Spain; and the run thither from Teneriffe is generally performed in less than thirty days, with the trade wind.†

Another fact is taken from Gumilla‡ who says: "In December 1731, whilst I was at the town of St. Joseph in the island of Trinidad, a small vessel of Teneriffe, with six seamen, was driven into that island by stress of weather. She was laden with wine, and bound for one other of the Canary islands; she had provision only for a few days, which, notwithstanding the utmost care, had been expended, and the crew subsisted wholly on wine.

They

* Introduction, page 5.

† ibid. page 329, 333.

‡ Cited by Edwards, in his history of the W. Indies, vol. i, p. 189.

They were reduced to the last extremity; and were received with astonishment by the inhabitants, who ran in crowds to see them. Their emaciated appearance would have sufficiently confirmed the truth of their story, if the papers, which they produced, had not put the matter beyond all doubt."

A third fact is related by Herrera, the royal Spanish historian.† Columbus in his second voyage to America, having discovered the island of Guadaloupe, "found a piece of timber belonging to a ship, which the seamen call the stern post; which they much admired, not knowing which way it should come thither, unless carried by tempestuous weather, from the Canaries, or from the island Hispaniola," where the Admiral's ship was cast away in his former voyage. Ferdinand Columbus, in the life of his father,‡ does not directly assert this; but speaks of their finding "an iron pan;" and endeavours to account for it, by saying that the stones there being of the colour of iron, a person of an indifferent judgment might mistake the one for the other." Not content with this solution he goes on thus; "though it were of iron, it was not to be admired, because the Indians of the island of Guadaloupe, being Carribbees, and making their excursions to rob, as far as Hispaniola; perhaps they had that pan, of the Christians, or of the other Indians of Hispaniola; and it is possible they might

† Decad. i, book ii, chap. 7.

‡ Chapter 47, in Churchill's collections, vol. ii.

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might carry the *body of the ship* the Admiral loſt, to make uſe of the iron; and though it were not the *hulk* of that ſhip; it might be the remainder of ſome other wreck, carried thither by the wind and current from our parts."

The improbability of the Indians having carried "the *body* or *hulk* of the ſhip, which the Admiral loſt," from the northern ſide of Hiſpaniola, to the eaſtern ſide of Guadaloupe, will appear from the diſtance; which is not leſs than two hundred leagues, in a direction oppoſite to the conſtant blowing of the wind. Nor will Herrera's conjecture, that the ſtern poſt of the Admiral's ſhip was carried thither by a tempeſt, be readily admitted, by any who are acquainted with the navigation of the Weſt Indies; for it muſt have paſſed through a multitude of iſlands and rocks; and, without a miracle, could ſcarcely have come entire, from ſo great a diſtance in ſuch foul ſeas. But the difficulty is farther increaſed, by conſidering what Don Ferdinand and Herrera have both aſſerted; that when Columbus had loſt his ſhip, "he built a fort with the timber, whereof he loſt no part, but made uſe of it all;"* and this fort was afterward burnt by the natives. If therefore there be any truth in the ſtory of the ſtern poſt found at Guadaloupe; it muſt have belonged to ſome other veſſel, either foundered at ſea, or wrecked on the ſhore.

Under

* Life of Columbus, chap. xxxiv. Herrera, book i, chap. 18.

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Under the head of fortuitous visits to the American continent, may be included a circumstance mentioned by Peter Martyr;† that not far from a place called Quarequa in the gulf of Darien, Vasco Nunez met with a colony of negroes. From the smallness of their number it was supposed they had not been long arrived on that coast.‡ These negroes could have come in no other vessels but canoes; a circumstance by no means incredible, to those who have read the accounts of Cook, and other navigators of the tropical seas.

To these facts may be added, the casual discovery of Brazil, by the Portuguese commander, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, in his voyage to India in the year 1500; an account of which is preserved by Dr. Robertson.§ "In order to avoid the calms near the coast of Africa, he stood out to sea; and kept so far to the west, that, to his surprize, he found himself on the shore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree of south latitude. He imagined at first, that it was some island in the Atlantic Ocean; but proceeding along its coast, for several days, he was gradually led to believe, that a country so extensive formed a part of some great continent."

These instances may serve as so many specimens of the manner, in which America might have proved an asylum, to some of the ancient navigators of the

† De orbe novo, Decad. iii, chap. 1.

‡ Edwards' hist. West Indies, vol. i, p. 110.

§ Hist. America, vol. i, p. 151.

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the African coasts, or of the Canary islands; and being arrived, it would be impossible for them to return. The same winds which brought them hither, continuing to blow from the eastward, would either discourage them from making the attempt, or oblige them to put back if they had made it. No argument then can be drawn from hence, in favour of a mutual intercourse, between this and the old continent. Those who would prove, that America was known to the ancients, must produce better evidence, than they have yet produced, if they contend for any other knowledge, than what was acquired by casual discoverers, who never returned.

The opinion that America was peopled, in part, by the Phenicians, was long since maintained by Hornius; and, though rejected by many succeeding writers, has been lately revived by Bryan Edwards,* a well informed merchant of the island of Jamaica. He extends the argument no farther, than to the Charaibe nation; who inhabited the Windward Islands, and some part of the southern continent; "whose manners and characteristic features denote a different ancestry, from the generality of the American nations." In support of this opinion, he has produced, perhaps, as much evidence from a similarity of manners and language, as a subject of such remote antiquity can admit.

To this elegant work I must refer the reader, and shall add one only remark, arising from the preceding

* Hist. W. Indies, vol. i, p. 103. 4to.

preceding obſervations; that if any acceſſion of inhabitants was made to America, by the deſultory migration of the Phenician or Carthaginian navigators, it is moſt rational to look for them between the tropics; the very place where the Charaibes were found.

A Chronological

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A Chronological Detail of Adventures and Discoveries, made by the EUROPEAN *Nations, in* AMERICA, *before the Establishment of the Council of* PLYMOUTH, *in* 1620.

Those marked with ☞ are more particularly enlarged upon in the Lives of the Adventurers.

A. D.
1001. ☞ BIRON, a Norman, accidentally discovered a country which was afterward called *Winland;* and is supposed to be a part of the island of *Newfoundland.*

Crantz. Pontoppidan.

1170. ☞ MADOC, prince of Wales, emigrated; and, it is thought, discovered a new country in the west. *Hakluyt.*

1358. ☞ An island called *Estotiland,* was discovered by a fisherman of *Frisland;* as related by ZENO. *Hakluyt.*

1492. ☞ CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in the service of *Spain,* discovered *Guanahani* and other islands, called *Bahamas* and *Antilles.*

Ferd. Columbus.

1493. COLUMBUS made a second voyage, and discovered *Dominica* and other islands, called *Caribbees.* *ibid.*

1497. ☞ JOHN CABOT, with his son SEBASTIAN, in the service of HENRY VII, of *England,* discovered the island of *Newfoundland* and some parts of a western *Continent;*

as

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as far northward as lat. 45°, and as far southward as lat. 38°. *Hakluyt.*

1498 COLUMBUS made a third voyage, and discovered the western continent, in latitude 10°, N. *Ferd. Col.*

1499 OJEDA, a private adventurer, and AMERIGO VESPUCCI followed the track of COLUMBUS, and discovered the western continent; of which Amerigo, after his return to Europe, wrote an account, and published it. From which, the continent obtained the name of AMERICA.

Robertson.

1500 CABRAL, in the service of Portugal, bound to India, discovered by *accident*, the continent of America, in lat. 10° south; which was called *Brasil.*

ibid.

1502 COLUMBUS made his fourth and last voyage to the new continent, in quest of a passage through it to India.

Ferd. Col.

1512 JOHN PONCE, in the service of *Spain*, discovered the new continent, in the latitude of 30° N, and called it *Florida.*

Herrera.

1513 VASCO NUNEZ, a Spaniard, travelled across the isthmus of *Darien*, and from a mountain, discovered on the other side of the continent an *Ocean*, which, from the direction

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tion in which he saw it, took the name of the *South Sea.* *Robertson.*

1519 HERNANDO CORTEZ, in the service of *Spain*, entered the city of *Mexico*; and in the space of two years reduced the whole country under the dominion of the King of Spain. *ibid.*

1520 FERDINAND DE MAGELLANES, a Portuguese, in the service of Spain, passed through the strait which bears his name, and sailed across the South Sea, to which he gave the name of *Pacific.* He discovered the *Philippine* islands, and was there killed in a skirmish with the natives. The ship, under the command of SEBASTIAN DEL CANO, returned to Spain by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and thus performed the first circumnavigation of the Globe. *Life of Magellanes.*

1524 JOHN DE VERAZZANI, a Florentine, in the service of FRANCIS I, King of France, discovered the new continent in lat. 34° N. sailed northward to lat. 41°, where he entered a harbour, which by his description must be that of New-York. Thence he sailed E. and N. E. as far as Newfoundland; and called the whole country *New-France.* *Hakluyt.*

1525 STEPHEN GOMEZ, in the service of *Spain*, sailed to *Florida*, and thence to

Cape Race in lat. 46° N. in search of a N. W. passage to India. *Herrera.*

1526 FRANCIS PIZARRO, sailed from Panama to *Peru* and began the conquest of that rich and populous country. *Purchas.*

1528 PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ, in the service of Spain, sailed from Cuba with 400 men to conquer *Florida*. His purpose was defeated by a tempest, in which he was wrecked on the coast. *Herrera. Purchas.*

1534 JAMES CARTIER, in the service of France, discovered and named the *Bay de Chaleur* and the gulf of St. Lawrence. *Hakluyt.*

1535 CARTIER made a second voyage, discovered the Great River of Canada, and sailed up as far as *Hochelaga*, which he named *Montreal*. He wintered in a little harbour near the west end of the isle of *Orleans*,
1536 which he called *Port de St. Croix*. The next summer he returned to France, carrying some of the natives. *Hakluyt.*

1539 FERDINANDO DE SOTO sailed
1537 from Cuba, with 900 men, to conquer *Florida*. He traversed the country in va-
1542 rious directions for three years, and died on the banks of the Mississipi. The sur-
1543 viving part of his army returned to Cuba. *Herrera. Purchas.*

1540

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1540 CARTIER made a third voyage to Canada, built a fort and began a settle-
1541 ment, which he called *Charleburg*, 4 leagues
or above the Port de St. Croix. He broke
1542 up the settlement and sailed to Newfoundland. *Hakluyt.*

ROBERVAL, with three ships and 200 persons, going to recruit the settlement in Canada, met Cartier at Newfoundland, and would have obliged him to return; but he gave him the slip and sailed for France. ROBERVAL proceeded up the river St. Lawrence 4 leagues above the island of Orleans, where he found a convenient harbour and place for a fortification. Here he built a fort, and remained over the winter. The next year he returned to France with his colony. *ibid.*

During the succeeding thirty years the passion for *discovery* took another direction. Adventurers from Europe were seeking a passage to India and China by the N. E. but were prevented from accomplishing their views, by the cold and ice of those inhospitable regions. *Forster.*

In this interval, the French of Brittany, the Spaniards of Biscay, and the Portuguese, enjoyed the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, without interruption. *Purchas.*

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1562 Under the patronage of CHATILLON, High Admiral of France, JOHN RIBALT attempted a ſettlement in *Florida*. He entered a river, in lat 32°, on the firſt of May; which, from that circumſtance, he named the River *May*, and the entrance he called *Port Royal*. Here he built a fort, which in honour of CHARLES IX, of France, he called *Fort Charles*. After his departure, the people mutinied and returned to France. *Hakluyt* and *Purchas*.

1564 LAUDONIERE renewed the ſettlement and called the country *Carolina*, after the reigning monarch of France. This colony was on good terms with the natives; but ſuffered by famine. They were relieved by Sir JOHN HAWKINS, an Engliſhman, who offered to carry them to France; but the hope of finding *ſilver* induced them to ſtay, till RIBALT arrived

1565 with ſeven ſail of veſſels.

PEDRO MELENDES, in the ſervice of Spain, came with a ſuperior force, killed Ribalt and moſt of his company, and took poſſeſſion of the country, building three forts. *ibid.*

1568 GOURGUES, from France, with the help of the natives, who hated the Spaniards, broke up the Spaniſh ſettlements in Florida, and returned to France, leaving the country deſart. *ibid.*

1576

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1576 All attempts to find a N. E. paſſage to India being fruſtrated, MARTIN FROBISHER, in the ſervice of ELIZABETH, Queen of England, failed in ſearch of a N. W. paſſage.

1577 He made a ſecond voyage.

1578 He made a third voyage.

Theſe voyages were made to *Greenland*, and produced no material diſcovery. He ſailed through a ſtrait which ſtill bears his name, but is now impaſſable by reaſon of fixed ice. *Hakluyt* and *Crantz*.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE being on a cruiſe againſt the Spaniards in the South Sea, landed on the continent of *America*, northward of *California*, took poſſeſſion of a harbour, and called the circumjacent country between lat. 38° and 42°, *New-Albion*. *Hakluyt*.

1579 SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT, obtained of QUEEN ELIZABETH a patent for all ☞ countries not poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian Prince. *Purchas*.

1583 GILBERT ſailed to *Newfoundland*; took formal poſſeſſion of it and of the continent of *North America*, for the Crown of England. In his return his ſhip foundered, and he was loſt. *ibid*.

SIR ADRIAN GILBERT, obtained of QUEEN ELIZABETH, a patent for the diſcovery

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discovery of a N. W. passage; to remain in force five years. *Hakluyt.*

1584 SIR WALTER RALEIGH,* obtained of QUEEN ELIZABETH, a patent for lands not possessed by any Christian Prince; by virtue of which he sent PHILIP AMADAS and ARTHUR BARLOW to explore the country called by the Spaniards *Florida.* *ibid.*

1585 Under the authority of GILBERT's patent, JOHN DAVIS sailed from England in search of a N. W. passage.

1586 He made a second voyage.

1587 He made a third voyage.

DAVIS explored the western coast of Greenland, and part of the opposite coast of the continent of America; the strait between them bears his name. He also discovered another strait which he called *Cumberland.* *Hakluyt.*

1585 SIR WALTER RALEIGH sent SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE to Florida. He landed a colony of 100 people at *Roanoak*, and returned. *ibid.*

1586 SIR FRANCIS DRAKE returning from his expedition against the Spaniards, took the colony on board and carried them to England. *ibid.*

* See life of John Smith.

SIR

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SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE arrived after their departure and landed another ſmaller colony. *ibid.*

1587 Sir WALTER RALEIGH ſent another company under the command of JOHN WHITE, to colonize the country which QUEEN ELIZABETH called *Virginia*, in honour of her own Virginity. The *ſecond* colony were not to be found. One hundred and fifteen perſons were landed to make a *third* colony, and the governor returned to England for ſupplies. *Purchas.*

1590 GEORGE WHITE was ſent to Virginia, but finding none of the *third* colony living, returned to England. *ibid.*

1592 JUAN DE FUCA, a Greek, in the ſervice of Spain, was ſent by the Viceroy of Mexico to diſcover a N. W. paſſage, by exploring the weſtern ſide of the American continent. He diſcovered a ſtrait which bears his name in the 48th degree of N. latitude, and ſuppoſed it to be the long deſired paſſage. *Purchas.*

1593 HENRY MAY, an Engliſhman, returning from the Eaſt Indies in a French ſhip, was wrecked on the iſland of *Bermuda*, where he found *ſwine*; from which circumſtance, it appeared, that ſome other veſſel had been there before. The company

built a boat of cedar, caulked it, and payed the seams with lime mixed with turtles' fat, and sailed to Newfoundland; whence they got a passage to England. *Hakluyt.*

1593 or 1594 GEORGE WEYMOUTH sailed from England to discover a N. W. passage. He visited the coast of *Labrador*, and sailed 30 miles up an inlet in the latitude of 56°; but made no material discovery. *Forster.*

1598 DE LA ROCHE obtained, from HENRY IV, of France, a commission to conquer *Canada*, and other countries not possessed by any Christian Prince. He sailed from France with a colony of *convicts* from the prisons; landed 40 on the *isle of Sable*. After seven years, the survivors, being 12 in number, were taken off, and carried home to France; where HENRY pardoned them, and gave them 50 crowns each, as a recompense for their sufferings. *Purchas. Forster.*

1600 Q. ELIZABETH established, by charter, a company of merchants in England; with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies. *Tablet of Memory.*

1602 ☞ BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, an Englishman, discovered a promontory on the American coast, in lat. 42°, to which he gave the name of *Cape Cod*. He landed on an island which he called *Elizabeth*, and built

built a ſmall fort; but the ſame ſummer returned to England. *Purchas.*

1603 DE MONTS obtained of HENRY IV, of France, a patent for the planting of *L'Acadia* and Canada, from lat. 40° to 46°. *ibid.*

☞ SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN ſailed up the Great River of Canada, and returned to France the ſame year. *ibid.*

1604 DE MONTS ſailed from France taking CHAMPLAIN and CHAMPDORE for pilots, and POURTRINCOURT who intended a ſettlement in America. They diſcovered and began plantations at *Port Royal*, *St. John's* and *St. Croix*, in the Bay of *Funda*.

POURTRINCOURT introduced two Jeſuits into Port Royal; but ſome controverſy ariſing, the Jeſuits went to *Mount Deſart* and began a plantation there. *ibid.*

1605 GEORGE WEYMOUTH ſailed on a ſecond voyage to diſcover a N. W. paſſage; but falling ſhort, made the land in 41° 30′; thence ſailed to 43° 20′, and diſcovered a great river ſuppoſed to be either *Kenebeck* or *Penobſcot*; took on board five of the natives and returned to England. He put in at Plymouth; and delivered three ☞ of them to Sir FERDINANDO GORGES, then Governour of Plymouth. *Gorges.*

1606 JAMES I, King of England, by patent, divided *Virginia* into two diſtricts, called North

North and South Virginia. The southern part, situate between 34° and 41°, he granted to a London Company; the northern part, situate between 38° and 45°, he granted to a Plymouth Company. Neither of them were to plant within 100 miles of the other. *Purchas.*

1607 CHAMPLAIN, by order of DE MONTS, sailed up the River of Canada and fortified *Quebec*, the name of a strait in the river. *ibid.*

☞ HENRY HUDSON, in the service of the English East India Company, sailed in quest of a N. W. passage. He attempted to pass to the E. of Greenland, and discovered *Spitzbergen*. He sailed as far N. as 82°; but, finding the sea obstructed by ice, returned. *Forster.*

CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT sailed to South Virginia, and began a colony at *James town*. EDWARD WINGFIELD was ☞ President, but JOHN SMITH was the life and soul of the colony. *Smith. Purchas.*

GEORGE POPHAM* sailed to North Virginia and began a plantation at *Sagadahock*, of which he was President. In the winter, the ships returned to England, leaving 45 persons behind. Their President 1608 dying, the next spring they broke up the plantation

* See the Life of F. Gorges.

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plantation and went back to England. This winter was remarkably severe both in America and England. *Purchas.*

1608 HUDSON, in the service of the English East India Company, undertook a second voyage of discovery, and attempted to pass on both sides of *Nova Zembla*; but the ice being impenetrable, he returned. *Purchas.*

NELSON reinforced the colony of South Virginia with 120 people. *ibid.*

1609 CHAMPLAIN returned to France, leaving Capt. PIERRE to command at Quebec. *ibid.*

HUDSON, in the service of the DUTCH, made a third voyage, and discovered *the river* which bears his name in lat. 41°.

☞ SIR GEORGE SOMERS bound to South Virginia, was wrecked on *Bermuda*, whence those islands took the name *Somer Islands*. *Smith. Purchas.*

1610 CHAMPLAIN revisited *Quebec* and took the command there. *Purchas.*

HUDSON, in the service of the English East India Company, discovered the strait and bay which bear his name; and passed the winter there, intending to pursue his discoveries in the ensuing spring; but his crew mutinied and turned him adrift in his boat with seven others, who were never more heard of. *Purchas. Campbell.*

SIR

1610 SIR GEORGE SOMERS having built a pinnace at Bermuda, failed to South Virginia; the colony determined to return to England; but, in failing down James' River, met Lord DELAWARE with a reinforcement, by which they were encouraged to return and resume the plantation. *Purchas.*

JOHN GUY with a company of 40 persons began a colony at the bay of *Conception*, in Newfoundland. *ibid.*

1611 SIR THOMAS DALE reinforced the colony of South Virgina with 300 people; and Sir THOMAS GATES with 300 more, furnishing them with cattle and swine; and thus that colony was established. *ibid.*

1612 The colony at Newfoundland was augmented to 60 persons; but was for many years in a very precarious state. Mr. GUY returned to England, and was afterward Mayor of Bristol. *Purchas. Oldmixon.*

The South Virginia Company having sold the islands of *Bermuda* to a part of their own number, they obtained a distinct charter, and sent a colony of 90 persons thither; their first governor was RICHARD MOOR. *Purchas.*

1613 The colony at Bermuda was enlarged by the addition of 400 persons. *ibid.*

SIR THOMAS DALE, Governor of Virginia, hearing that the French had set-

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tled within the limits of the northern patent, sent Sir SAMUEL ARGALL with a sufficient force to dislodge them; which he did, from Mount Mansel (Desart) St. Croix and Port Royal in the Bay of Funda. These Frenchmen retired to Quebec and strengthened the settlement there. *Smith. Purchas. Keith.*

1614 CAPT. JOHN SMITH having quitted the colony of South Virginia, sailed for North Virginia, on a fishing and whaling voyage; he ranged the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod; and made a map of the country, which he first called *New England.* *Smith.*

1615 ROBERT BYLOT and WILLIAM BAFFIN sailed from England in search of a N. W. passage.

1616 They made another voyage, and discovered the great northern bay which bears BAFFIN's name. *Purchas. Forster.*

1617 During this and the two preceding years, war, famine, and pestilence, raged among the natives of New England, by which great numbers were swept off; and the fur trade between them and the Europeans was interrupted. *Gorges.*

1619 THOMAS DERMER* sailed to New England; found many places, before populous, almost desolate, and the few remaining inhabitants

* See the life of F. Gorges.

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inhabitants either sick or but scarcely recovered. In this voyage he sailed through the whole passage between the main land and Long Island and first determined its *insular* situation. *Gorges.*

1620 A Company of ENGLISH PURITANS*, who had resided twelve years in Holland, began a colony in New England, which they called *New Plymouth*. *Morton.*

☞ KING JAMES I †, established at *Plymouth*, in Devonshire, a Council, for the planting, ruling and ordering of New England; and thus the business of colonization was formed into a system. *Gorges.*

* See life of W. Bradford.

† See life of F. Gorges.

AMERICAN

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AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

I. BIRON.

THE ancient inhabitants of Norway and Denmark, collectively taken, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of NORMANS. Their ſituation near the coaſt of the ſea, and the advantages which that element preſented to them beyond all which they could expect, from a rough ſoil, in a cold climate, led them at an early period to the ſcience and practice of navigation. They built their veſſels with the beſt of oak, and conſtructed them in ſuch a manner as to encounter the ſtorms and billows of the northern ocean. They covered them with decks and furniſhed them with high forecaſtles and ſterns. They made uſe of ſails as well as oars, and had learned to

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trim their ſails to the wind, in almoſt any direction. In theſe arts, of building ſhips and of navigation, they were ſuperior to the people bordering on the Mediterranean ſea, who depended chiefly on their oars, and uſed ſails only with a fair wind.

About the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, the Normans made themſelves famous by their predatory excurſions. England, Scotland, Ireland, the Orkney and Shetland iſlands, were objects of their depredations; and, in one of their piratical expeditions, (A.D. 861) they diſcovered an iſland, which from its lofty mountains, covered with ice and ſnow, obtained the name of *Iceland*. In a few years after they planted a colony there, which was continually augmented by migrations from the neighbouring countries. Within the ſpace of thirty years (889) a new country, ſituate on the weſt, was diſcovered, and from its verdure during the ſummer months received the name of *Greenland*. This was deemed ſo important an acquiſition, that, under the conduct of ERIC RAUDE, or REDHEAD, a Daniſh chief, it was ſoon peopled.

The emigrants to theſe new regions were ſtill inflamed with the paſſion for adventure

and

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and discovery. An Icelander of the name HERIOLF and his son BIRON* made a voyage every year to different countries, for the sake of traffic. About the beginning of the eleventh century (1001) their ships were separated by a storm. When Biron arrived in Norway, he heard that his father was gone to Greenland, and he resolved to follow him; but another storm drove him to the *southwest*, where he discovered a flat country, free from rocks, but covered with thick woods; and an island near the coast.

He made no longer stay at either of these places than till the storm abated; when by a northeast course he hasted to Greenland. The discovery was no sooner known there, than LEIF the son of Eric, who, like his father, had a strong desire to acquire glory by adventures, equipped a vessel, carrying twenty five men; and, taking Biron for his pilot, sailed (1002) in search of the new country.

His course was southwest. On the first land which he saw, he found nothing but flat rocks and ice, without any verdure. He therefore gave it the name of *Helleland*, which signifies

* His name is spelled by different authors BIRON, BIORN, BIOERN, and BIAERN.

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nifies rocky. Afterward he came to a level ſhore, without any rocks, but overgrown with woods, and the ſand was remarkably white. This he named *Markland*, or woody. Two days after, he ſaw land again, and an iſland lying before the northern coaſt of it. Here he firſt landed; and thence ſailing weſtward, round a point of land, found a creek or river into which the ſhip entered.

On the banks of this river, were buſhes bearing ſweet berries; the air was mild, the ſoil fertile, and the river well ſtored with fiſh, among which were very fine ſalmon. At the head of this river was a lake, on the ſhore of which they reſolved to paſs the winter, and erected huts for their accommodation. One of their company, a German named Tyrker, having ſtraggled into the woods, found *grapes*; from which, he told them that in his country, they made *wine*. From this circumſtance Leif, the commander of the party, called the place *Winland dat gode*, the good wine country.

An intercourſe being thus opened between Greenland and Winland, ſeveral voyages were made, and the new country was further explored. Many iſlands were found near the coaſt, but not a human creature was ſeen till the

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the third summer (1004) when three boats constructed with ribs of bone, fastened with thongs or twigs and covered with skins, each boat containing three men, made their appearance. From the diminutive size of these people the Normans denominated them *Skrælings*,* and inhumanly killed them all but one; who escaped and collected a larger number of his countrymen, to make an attack on their invaders. The Normans defended their ships with so much spirit, that the assailants were obliged to retire.

After this, a colony of Normans went and settled at Winland, carrying on a barter trade with the Skrælings for furs; but a controversy arose in the colony, which induced some to return to Greenland. The others dispersed and mixed with the Skrælings.

In the next century (1121) Eric, Bishop of Greenland, went to Winland, with a benevolent design to recover and convert his countrymen who had degenerated into savages. This prelate never returned to Greenland; nor was any thing more heard of Winland, for several centuries.

This

* Cut sticks, chips—Dwarfs.

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This account of the discovery of Winland is taken from Pontoppidan's history of Norway, Crantz's history of Greenland, and a late history of northern voyages by Dr. John Reinhold Forster. The facts are said to have been collected from "a great number of Icelandic manuscripts by Thormond Thorfœus, Adam von Bremen, Arngrim Jonas and many other writers, so that it is hardly possible to entertain the least doubt concerning the authenticity of the relation."

Pontoppidan says that "they could see the sun full six hours in the shortest day;" but Crantz tells us that "the sun rose on the shortest day at eight of the clock," and Forster that "the sun was eight hours above the horizon," from which he concludes, that Winland must be found in the 49th degree of northern latitude; and from its being in a southwesterly direction from Greenland, he supposes that it is either a part of Newfoundland or some place on the northern coast of the gulf of St. Lawrence; but whether grapes are found in either of those countries he cannot say. However, he seems so fully persuaded of the facts, that he gives it as his opinion, that the Normans were, strictly speaking, the first

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first discoverers of America, nearly five centuries before Columbus.

From a careful perusal of the first accounts of Newfoundland, preserved by those painful collectors Hakluyt and Purchas, and of other memoirs respecting that island and the coast of Labrador; and from inspecting the most approved maps of those regions, particularly one, in the American Atlas, delineated agreeably to the actual surveys of the late celebrated navigator Capt. James Cook, the following observations occur.

On the N. E. part of Newfoundland, which is most directly accessible from Greenland, there is a long range of coast, in which are two bays, the one called Gander Bay, and the other the Bay of Exploits. Before the mouth of the former, among many smaller, there lies one large island called Fogo; and before the mouth of the latter, another, called The New World. Either of these will sufficiently answer to the situation described in the account of Biron's second voyage. Into each of these bays, runs a river, which has its head in a lake, and both these lakes lie in the 49th degree of north latitude.

The earliest accounts of Newfoundland after its discovery and the establishment of a fishery

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on its coasts, have respect chiefly to the lands about Trinity and Conception bays, between the parallels of 48° and 49°. These lands are represented as producing strawberries, whortleberries, raspberries, gooseberries, pears, wild cherries, and hazle nuts, in very great plenty. The rivers are said to have been well stored with salmon and trouts. The natives, who inhabited a bay lying to the northward of Trinity and came occasionally thither in their canoes, are described as broad breasted and upright, with black eyes, and without beards; the hair on their heads was of different colours; some had *black*, some *brown* and others *yellow*. In this variety they differed from the other savages of North America, who have uniformly black hair, unless it be grown grey with age.

The climate is represented as more mild in the winter than that of England; but much colder in the spring, by reason of the vast islands of ice which are driven into the bays or grounded on the banks.

On the north eastern coast of Labrador, between the latitudes of 53° and 56°, are many excellent harbours and islands. The seas are full of cod, the rivers abound with salmon;

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and the climate is ſaid to be more mild than in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Nothing is ſaid in any of theſe accounts of vines or grapes, excepting that ſome which were brought from England had thriven well. If any evidence can be drawn from a compariſon between the countries of Newfoundland and New-England it may be obſerved; that all the above mentioned fruits and berries are found in the northern and eaſtern parts of New-England as far as Nova Scotia, in the latitudes of 44° and 45°; and that grapes, *(vitis vulpina, vitis labruſca)* are known to grow wherever theſe fruits are found.

Du Monts in his voyage to Acadia, in 1608, ſpeaks of grapes in ſeveral places; and they were in ſuch plenty on the iſle of Orleans in lat. 47° that it was firſt called the iſland of Bacchus.* Though there is no direct and poſitive teſtimony of grapes in the iſland of Newfoundland, it is by no means to be concluded that there were none. Nor is it improbable that grapes, though once found there, might have been ſo ſcarce, as not to merit notice, in ſuch general deſcriptions, as were given by the firſt Engliſh adventurers. The

* It is alſo ſaid that Mr. Ellis met with the vine about the Engliſh ſettlements at Hudſon's Bay; and compares the fruit of it to the currants of the Levant. *Morſe's Un. Geo. vol. i, p.* 64.

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The diſtance between Greenland and Newfoundland is not greater than between Iceland and Norway; and there could be no more difficulty in navigating the weſtern than the eaſtern parts of the northern Ocean, with ſuch veſſels as were then in uſe, and by ſuch ſeamen as the Normans are ſaid to have been; though they knew nothing of the magnetic needle.

Upon the whole, though we can come to no poſitive concluſion in a queſtion of ſuch remote antiquity; yet there are many circumſtances to confirm, and none to diſprove the relation given of the voyages of Biron.* But if it be allowed that he is entitled to the honour of having diſcovered America before Columbus, yet this diſcovery cannot in the leaſt detract from the merit of that celebrated navigator. For there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe that Columbus had any knowledge of the Norman diſcoveries; which long before his time were forgotten, and would perhaps never have been recollected, if he had not,

* At my requeſt, Governor WENTWORTH, of Nova Scotia, has employed a proper perſon, to make inquiry into any veſtiges of this ancient colony, which *may* yet be ſubſiſting. I am ſorry that the reſult could not be had, before the publication of this volume; but when it comes to hand, it ſhall be communicated.

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not, by the aſtoniſhing exertions of his genius and his perſevering induſtry, effected a diſcovery of this continent, in a climate more friendly to the views of commercial adventurers.

Even Greenland itſelf, in the fifteenth century, was known to the Danes and Normans only by the name of *loſt* Greenland; and they did not recover their knowledge of it, till after the Engliſh had aſcertained its exiſtence by their voyages to diſcover a N. W. paſſage to the Pacific Ocean, and the Dutch had coaſted it in purſuit of whales.

II. MADOC.

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II. MADOC.

THIS perſon is ſuppoſed to have diſcovered America, and brought a colony of his countrymen hither, before the diſcovery made by Columbus. The ſtory of his emigration from Wales is thus related by Hakluyt, whoſe book was firſt publiſhed in 1589; and a ſecond edition of it in 1600.

"The voyage of Madoc, the ſon of Owen Gwynneth, Prince of North Wales, to the Weſt Indies in the year 1170; taken out of the hiſtory of Wales lately publiſhed by M. David Powel Doctor of Divinitie."

"After the death of Owen Gwynneth, his ſons fell at debate who ſhould inherit after him. For the eldeſt ſon born in matrimony Edward or Iorweth Drwydion was counted unmeet to govern, becauſe of the maime upon his face; and Howel, that took upon him all the rule, was a baſe ſon begotten of an Iriſh woman. Therefore David gathered all the power he could and came againſt Howel, and fighting with him, ſlew him; and afterward enjoyed quietly the whole land of North Wales,

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Wales, until his brother Iorweth's ſon came to age.

"MADOC, another of Owen Gwynneth his ſons left the land in contention between his brethren and prepared certain ſhips with men and munition, and ſought adventures by ſea, ſailing *weſt*, and leaving the coaſt of Ireland ſo far *north* that he came to a land unknown, where he ſaw many ſtrange things.

"This land muſt needs be ſome part of that country of which the Spaniards affirm themſelves to be the firſt finders, ſince Hanno's time. [* For by reaſon and order of coſmographie, this land to the which Madoc came, muſt needs be ſome part of Nova Hiſpania or Florida.] Whereupon it is manifeſt that that country was long [before] by Brittains diſcovered, afore [either] Columbus [or Americus Veſputius] led any Spaniards thither.

"Of the voyage and return of that Madoc there be many fables feigned, as the common people do uſe, in diſtance of place and length of time, rather to augment than diminiſh, but *ſure it is that there he was*. And after he had returned home and declared the pleaſant and fruitful

* The words included in crotchets [ ] are omitted in the ſecond edition of Hakluyt's voyages.

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fruitful countries that he had ſeen *without inhabitants*; and upon the contrary part, for what wild and barren ground his brethren and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ſhips and got with him ſuch men and women as were deſirous to live in quietneſs; and taking leave of his friends, took his journey thitherwards again.

"Therefore it is to be preſuppoſed, that he and his people inhabited part of thoſe countries; for it appeareth, by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil, and other places, the people honoured the croſs. Whereby it may be gathered, that Chriſtians had been there before the coming of the Spaniards. But becauſe this people were not many, they followed the *manners* of the land they came to, and uſed the *language* they found there.

"This Madoc arriving in that weſtern country unto the which he came in the year 1170, left moſt of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends, to inhabit that fair and large country, went thither again, with ten ſails, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereto he came, was

ſome

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ſome part of [Mexico;* the cauſes which make me think ſo be theſe.

"1. The common report of the inhabitants of that country, which affirm that their rulers deſcended from a ſtrange nation, that came thither from a far country; which thing is confeſſed by Mutezuma King of that country, in an oration made for quieting of his people at his ſubmiſſion to the King of Caſtile; Hernando Cortez being then preſent, which is laid down in the Spaniſh chronicles of the conqueſt of the Weſt Indies.

"2. The Britiſh words and names of places uſed in that country even to this day do argue the ſame; as when they talk together, they uſe the word *Gwrando*, which is hearken or liſten. Alſo they have a certain bird with a *white* head, which they call *penguin*, that is white head. But the iſland of *Corroeſo*, the river of *Guyndor*, and the white rock of *Penguyn*, which be all Britiſh or Welch words, do manifeſtly ſhew that it was that country, which Madoc and his people inhabited."]

"*Carmina Meredith filii Rheſi mentionem facientia de Madoco filio Oweni Gwynnedd et de*

* In the ſecond Edition, the word *Mexico* is changed for *the Weſt Indies*; and the two following paragraphs are omitted.

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de sua navigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini 1477.

Madoc wyf, mwyedie wedd
Iawn geneu, Owen Guynned
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

These verses I received of my learned friend, M. William Camden,

The same in English.

"Madoc I am the son of Owen Gwynnedd,
With stature large and comely grace adorned.
No lands at home, nor store of wealth me please,
My mind was whole to search the Ocean seas."

In this extract from Hakluyt is contained all the original information which I have been able to find respecting the supposed discovery of America by the Welch. The account itself is confused and contradictory. The country discovered by Madoc is said to be "without inhabitants;" and yet the people whom he carried thither "followed the manners of the land, and used the language they found there." Though the Welch emigrants lost their language, yet the author attempts to prove the truth of his story by the preservation of several Welch words in the American tongues. Among these he is unfortunate in the

the choice of "*penguin* a bird with a *white head*;" all the birds of that name on the American ſhores having black or dark brown heads, and the name *penguin* is ſaid to have been originally *pinguedine*, from their exceſſive fatneſs.*

Among the proofs which ſome late writers have adduced in ſupport of the diſcovery of America by Madoc is this, that a language reſembling the Welch was ſpoken by a tribe of Indians in North-Carolina, and that it is ſtill uſed by a nation ſituate on ſome of the weſtern waters of the Miſſiſippi. If that part of the account preſerved by Hakluyt be true, that the language was loſt, it is vain to offer an argument of this kind in ſupport of the truth of the ſtory; but a queſtion may here ariſe, How could any report of the loſs of their language have been tranſmitted to Europe at ſo early a period?

An attempt has lately been made to aſcertain the truth of this piece of hiſtory by Dr. John Williams. I have not ſeen the book itſelf, but if the Critical Reviewers may be credited,† no new facts have been adduced.

It

* See the new Encyclopedia, under the article AMERICA.

† Critical Review for 1791, page 357.

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It is remarked by them, that "if Madoc *once* reached America, it is difficult to explain how he could return home, and it would be more improbable that he ſhould arrive in America a *ſecond* time; of which there is not the ſlighteſt evidence." They alſo obſerve, that "if Madoc ſailed weſtward from Wales, the currents would rather have carried him to Nova Scotia than to the ſouthward."

The mentioning of Nova Scotia reminds me of ſome words in the native language of that country which begin with two ſyllables reſembling the name of Madoc.* A ſachem of the Penobſcot tribe who lived in the end of the laſt and in the beginning of the preſent century bore the name of *Madokawando*. A village on Penobſcot river was called *Madawankee*. One branch of the river St. John which runs into the bay of Funda is *Medoctack* and another is *Medocſcenecaſis*. The advocates of this opinion may avail themſelves as far as they can of this coincidence, but in my apprehenſion it is too precarious to be the baſis of any juſt concluſion.

After all that has been, or can be ſaid on the ſubject, we muſt obſerve with the Critical

* See Gyles' memoirs of his Captivity in 1689.

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cal Reviewers, that, "if Madoc left Wales and discovered any other country it must always remain uncertain where that country is." Dr. Robertson thinks, if he made any discovery at all, it might be Madeira or one of the Azores.*

The book of Hakluyt, in which the original story is preserved, was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in the time of her controversy with Spain. The design of his bringing forward the voyage of Madoc appears, from what he says of Columbus, to have been, the asserting of a discovery prior to his, and consequently the right of the Crown of England to the sovereignty of America; a point at that time warmly contested between the two nations. The remarks which the same author makes on several other voyages, evidently tend to the establishment of that claim. But if the story of Biron be true, which (though Hakluyt has said nothing of it) is better authenticated than this of Madoc, the right of the Crown of Denmark is, on the principle of prior discovery, superior to either of them.

Perhaps the whole mystery may be unveiled, if we advert to this one circumstance, the

* Hist. Amer. vol. i, p. 374.

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time when Hakluyt's book was firſt publiſhed. National prejudice might prevail even with ſo honeſt a writer, to convert a Welch fable into a political argument, to ſupport, againſt a powerful rival, the claim of his ſovereign to the dominion of this continent.

III. ZENO.

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III. ZENO.

IT is well known that the Venetians were reckoned among the moſt expert and adventurous of the maritime nations. In that republic, the family of ZENO or ZENI is not only very ancient, and of high rank; but celebrated for illuſtrious achievements. Nicolo Zeno, having exhibited great valour in a war with the Genoeſe, conceived an ardent deſire, agreeably to the genius of his nation, to travel; that he might, by his acquaintance with foreign nations and languages, render himſelf more illuſtrious and more uſeful. With this view he equipped a veſſel at his own expenſe, and ſailed through the ſtraits of Gibraltar to the northward, [A. D. 1380] with an intention to viſit Britain and Flanders; but by a ſtorm which laſted many days, he was caſt away on the coaſt of *Friſland*.

The Prince of the country Zichmni (or as Purchas ſpells it Zichmui) finding Zeno an expert ſeaman, gave him the command of his fleet, conſiſting of thirteen veſſels, of which two only were rowed with oars; one was a ſhip, and the reſt were ſmall barks. With

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this fleet, he made conquests and depredations in Ledovo and Ilofo and other small islands; several barks laden with fish being a part of his capture.

Nicolo wrote to his brother Antonio Zeno at Venice, inviting him to Frisland, whither he went, and being taken into the service of Zichmni, continued with him fourteen years. The fleet sailed on an expedition to *Estland*, where they committed great ravages; but hearing that the King of Norway was coming against them with a superior fleet, they departed; and were driven by a storm on shoals, where part of the fleet was wrecked, and the rest were saved on *Grisland*, "a great island but not inhabited."

Zichmni then determined to attack Iceland, which belonged to the King of Norway; but finding it well fortified and defended, and his fleet being diminished, he retired and built a fort in *Bress*, one of seven small islands, where he left Nicolo and returned to Frisland.

In the next spring Zeno, with three small barks, sailed to the northward on discovery, and arrived at *Engroenland*; where he found a monastery of Friars, and a Church dedicated to St. Thomas, situate near a volcano, and heated

heated by warm ſprings flowing from the mountain.

After the death of Nicolo, which happened in about four years, Antonio ſucceeded him in the command of the fleet; and the prince Zichmni, aiming at the ſovereignty of the ſea, undertoook an expedition *weſtward*, becauſe that ſome fiſhermen had diſcovered rich and populous iſlands in that quarter.

The report of the fiſhermen was, that above a thouſand miles weſtward from Friſland, to which diſtance they had been driven by a tempeſt, there was an iſland call *Eſtotiland*, which they had diſcovered twenty ſix years before; that ſix men in one boat were driven upon the iſland, and being taken by the inhabitants were brought into a fair and populous city; that the King of the place ſent for many interpreters, but none was found who could underſtand the language of the fiſhermen, except one who could ſpeak Latin, and he had formerly been caſt aſhore on the iſland; that on his reporting their caſe to the King, he detained them five years, in which time they learned the language; that one of them viſited divers parts of the iſland, and reported, that it was a very rich country,

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abounding with all the commodities of the world; that it was less than Iceland, but far more fruitful, having in the middle a very high mountain, from which originated four rivers.

The inhabitants were described as very ingenious, having all mechanic arts. They had a peculiar kind of language and letters; and in the King's library were preserved Latin books, which they did not understand. They had all kinds of metals (but especially gold, with which they mightily abounded.*) They held traffic with the people of Engroenland, from whence they brought furs, pitch and brimstone. They had many great forests, which supplied them with timber for the building of ships, houses and fortifications. The use of the loadstone was not known; but these fishermen having the mariner's compass, were held in so high estimation, that the King sent them with twelve barks to a country at the southward, called *Drogio*; where the most of them were killed and devoured by cannibals; but one of them saved himself by showing the savages a way of taking

* This passage is in Hakluyt's translation and the abridgment by Ortelius; but Dr. Forster could not find it in the Italian original of Ramusio. Northern voyages, p. 189.

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ing fish by nets, in much greater plenty than by any other mode before known among them. This fisherman was in so great demand with the princes of the country, that they frequently made war on each other for the sake of gaining him. In this manner he passed from one to another, till in the space of thirteen years, he had lived with twenty five different princes; to whom he communicated his "miraculous" art of fishing with nets.

He thus became acquainted with every part of the country, which he described to be so extensive as to merit the name of a *new world*. The people were rude and ignorant of the use of clothing, though their climate was cold, and afforded beasts for the chace. In their hunting and wars they used the bow and the lance; but they knew not the use of metal.

Farther to the southwest the air was said to be more temperate and the people more civil. They dwelt in cities, built temples, and worshipped idols to whom they offered human victims; and they had plenty of gold and silver.

The fisherman having become fully acquainted with the country meditated a return. Having fled through the woods to Drogio,

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after three years some boats arrived from Estotiland in one of which he embarked for that country; and having acquired considerable property he fitted out a bark of his own and returned to Frisland.

Such was the report of the fisherman; upon hearing of which Zichmni resolved to equip his fleet and go in search of the new country; Antonio Zeno being the second in command. But "the preparation for the voyage to Estotiland was begun in an evil hour; the fisherman who was to have been the pilot died three days before their departure."

However, taking certain mariners who had sailed with the fisherman, Zichmni began the intended voyage. When he had sailed a small distance to the westward, he was overtaken by a storm which lasted eight days, at the end of which they discovered land, which the natives called *Icaria*. They were numerous and formidable and would not permit him to come on shore. From this place they sailed six days to the westward with a fair wind; but a heavy gale from the southward drove them four days before it, when they discovered land, in which was a volcano. The air was mild and temperate, it being the height of summer.

They

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They took a great quantity of fish, of sea fowl and their eggs. A party who penetrated the country as far as the foot of the volcano, found a spring, from which issued "a certain water, like pitch, which ran into the sea." They discovered some of the inhabitants who were of small stature and wild; and who, at the approach of the strangers, hid themselves in their caves. Having found a good harbour; Zichmni intended to make a settlement; but his people opposing it, he dismissed part of the fleet under Zeno who returned to Frisland.

The particulars of this narrative were first written by Antonio Zeno, in letters to his brother Carlo, at Venice; from some fragments of which, a compilation was made by Francisco Marcolini, and preserved by Ramusio. It was translated by Richard Hakluyt, and printed in the third volume of the second edition of his collections, page 121, &c. From it Ortelius has made an extract in his *Theatrum orbis*.

Dr. Forster has taken much pains to examine the whole account, both geographically and historically. The result of his inquiry is, that Frisland is one of the Orkneys; that Porland is the cluster of islands called Faro; and that Estland is Shetland.

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At first indeed he was of opinion that "the countries described by the Zenos actually existed at that time, but had since been swallowed up by the sea, in a great earthquake."* This opinion he founded on the probability that all the high islands in the middle of the sea are of volcanic original; as is evident with respect to Iceland and the Faro islands in the North Sea; the Azores, Tenerriffe, Madeira, the Cape de Verds, St. Helena and Ascension in the Atlantic; the Society Islands, Otaheite, Easter, the Marquesas, and other islands in the Pacific. This opinion he was induced to relinquish, partly because "so great a revolution must have left behind it some historical vestiges or traditions;" but, principally, because his knowledge of the Runic language suggested to him a resemblance between the names mentioned by Zeno and those which are given to some of the islands of Orkney, Shetland, Faro and the Hebrides.

However presumptuous it may appear to call in question the opinion of so learned and diligent an inquirer, on a subject, which his philological and geographical knowledge must

* Northern voyages, Dublin edition, p. 200.

must enable him to examine with the greatest precision; yet, from the search which I have had opportunity to make, it appears probable to me that his first opinion was right, as far as it respects Frisland, and perhaps Porland. My reasons are these:

1. Dr. Forster says that Frisland was "much larger than Iceland;"* and Hakluyt, in his account of Zeno's voyage, speaks of it as "bigger than Ireland."† Neither of these accounts can agree with the supposition of its being one of the Orkneys; for Iceland is 346 miles long and 200 wide. Ireland is 310 in length, and 184 in breadth; but Pomona, the mainland of the Orkneys, is but 22 miles long and 20 wide.

2. Frisland was seen by Martin Frobisher in each of his three voyages to and from Greenland in the years 1576, 1577, and 1578.§ In his first voyage he took his departure from Foula, the westernmost of the Shetland Islands, in lat. 60° 30′, and after sailing W. by N. *fourteen days*, he made the land of Frisland, "bearing W. N. W. distant 16 leagues, in lat. 61°." In his second voyage he sailed from the Orkneys W. N. W. *twenty*

* Page 181. † Vol. iii, p. 122.

§ Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 30, &c.

ty six days, before he came "within making of Frisland;" which he thus describes.

"July 4th. We made land perfect, and knew it to be Frisland. Found ourselves in lat. 60°½ and were fallen in with the southernmost part of this land. It is thought to be in bigness *not inferior to England*; and is called of some authors West Frisland. I think it lieth more west than any part of Europe. It extendeth to the north very far, as seemed to us; and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren Nicolo and Antonio Zeni; who being driven off from Ireland about 200 years since, were shipwrecked there. They have in their sea charts described every part, and, for so much of the land as we have sailed along, comparing their charts with the coast, we find it very agreeable. All along this coast the ice lieth as a continual bulwark, and so defendeth the country, that those who would land there incur great danger."† In his third voyage he found means to land on the island. The inhabitants fled and hid themselves. Their tents were made of skins and their boats were like those of Greenland. From these well authenticated accounts of Frisland,

† Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 62.

Frisland, and its situation so far westward of the Orkneys and Shetland, it seems impossible that Dr. Forster's second opinion can be right.

3. One of the reasons which led the Doctor to give up his first opinion, that these lands once existed, but had disappeared, was, that so great a revolution must have left some vestige behind. If no person escaped to tell the news, what better vestige can there be, than the existence of shoals or rocks, in the places where these islands once were known to be? In a map prefixed to Crantz's history of Greenland, there is marked a very extensive shoal between the latitudes of 59° and 60°, called "The sunken land of Buss." Its longitude is between Iceland and Greenland, and the author speaks of it in these words, "Some are of opinion that Frisland was sunk by an earthquake; and that it was situate in those parts where the sunken land of Buss is marked in the maps; which the seamen cautiously avoid, because of the shallow ground and turbulent waves."*

Respecting Buss Island I have met with no other account than what is preserved by Purchas† in his abridgment of the journal of James

* Vol. i, p. 273. † Vol. iv, p. 815, 822.

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James Hall's voyages from Denmark to Greenland: In his first voyage [A. D. 1605] he remarks thus; "Being in the latitude of 59°½ we looked to have seen Busse Island; but I do verily suppose the same to be placed in a wrong latitude in the marine charts." In his second voyage [1606] he saw land which he "supposed to be Busse Island lying more to the westward than it is placed in the marine charts," and the next day, viz. July 2d. he writes, "we were in a great current setting S. S. W. which I suppose to set between Busse Island and Frisland over toward America."

In a fourth voyage made in 1612 by the same James Hall, from England, for the discovery of a N. W. passage, of which there is a journal written by John Gatonbe and preserved in Churchill's Collections,* they kept a good look out both in going and returning for the island of Frisland but could not see it. In a map prefixed to this voyage, Frisland is laid down between the latitude of 61° and 62°; and Buss in the latitude of 57°. In Gatonbe's journal the distance between Shetland and Frisland is computed to be 260 leagues, the southernmost

* Vol. vi, p. 260, 268.

southernmost part of Frisland and the northernmost part of Shetland are said to be in the same latitude. There is also a particular map of Frisland preserved by Purchas* in which are delineated several towns and cities; the two islands of Iloso and Ledovo are laid down to the westward of it, and another called Stromio to the eastward.

In a map of the North Seas prefixed to an anonymous account of Greenland, in Churchill's Collection† we find Frisland laid down in the latitude 62°, between Iceland and Greenland.

We have then no reason to doubt the existence of these islands as late as the beginning of the last century; at what time they disappeared is uncertain, but that their place has since been occupied by a shoal, we have also credible testimony.

The appearance and disappearance of islands in the northern sea is no uncommon thing. Besides former events of this kind there is one very recent. In the year 1783, by means of a volcanic eruption, two islands were produced in the sea near the S. E. coast of Iceland. One was supposed to be so permanent, that the King

* Vol. iv, p. 625. † Vol. ii, p. 378.

King of Denmark sent and took formal possession of it as part of his dominions; but the Ocean, paying no regard to the territorial claim of a mortal sovereign, has since reabsorbed it in his watery bosom.*

These reasons incline me to believe that Dr. Forster's first opinion was well founded, as far as it respects Frisland.

He supposes Porland to be the cluster of islands called Faro†. But Porland is said to lie *south*‡ of Frisland; whereas the Faro Islands lie *northwest* of Orkney, which he supposes to be Frisland. The learned Doctor, who is in general very accurate, was not aware of this inconsistency.

In the account which Hakluyt has given of Martin Frobisher's third voyage, we find that one of his ships, the Buss of Bridgewater, in her return fell in with land, 50 leagues S. E. of Frisland "which (it is said) was never found before" the southernmost part of which lay in latitude 57°½. Along the coast of this land, which they judged to extend 25 leagues, they sailed for three days.§ The existence of this

* See a new Geographical Grammar, by a Society in Edinburgh, published by Alexander Kincaid, Vol. 1, p. 123.

† Northern Voyages, p. 207. ‡ ibid, p. 180.

§ Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 77, 90.

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this land, Dr. Forster seems to doubt; but yet allows that "if it was then really discovered it must have sunk afterwards into the sea, as it has never been seen again; or else these navigators must have been mistaken in their reckoning."

If such an island or cluster of islands did exist in the situation described by Frobisher, it might be the Porland of Zeno; for the southernmost part of Frisland lay in the latitude of 60°½; the southernmost part of this land in 57°½ in a direction S. E. from it. It was probably called Buss, by the English, from the name of Frobisher's vessel which discovered it.

The only proof which can now be produced of this fact must be the actual existence of rocks and shoals in or near the same place. Of this, it is happily in my power to produce the evidence of two experienced shipmasters, of incontestible veracity, now living. The first is Isaac Smith of Malden, near Boston, from whose log book I have made the following extract. "In a voyage from Petersburg to Boston, in the ship Thomas and Sarah, belonging to Thomas Russell, Esq. of Boston, Merchant, Thursday, August 11, 1785, course

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W. N. W. wind W. S. W. At 4 A. M. discovered a large rock a head, which for some time we took to be a ship under close reefed topsail. At 7, being within two miles, saw breakers under our lee, on which account wore ship. There are breakers in two places bearing S. E; one a mile, the other two miles from the rock. It lies in lat. 57° 38′; longitude West from London 13° 36′; and may be discovered five leagues off. We sounded and had 56 fathom. The rock appears to be about 100 yards in circumference and 50 feet above water. It makes like a hay stack, black below and white on the top." The other is Nathaniel Goodwin, of Boston, who, in his homeward passage from Amsterdam, on the 15th of August 1793, saw the same rock. According to his observation, (which however on that day was a little dubious) it lies in lat. 57° 48′ and lon. 13° 46′. He passed within two miles of it to the southward and saw breakers to the northward of it. Its appearance he describes in the same manner with Smith.

From these authorities I am strongly inclined to believe that the shoal denominated "the sunken land of Buss" is either a

part

part of the ancient Frisland or of some island in its neighbourhood; and that the rock and ledges seen by Smith and Goodwin, belonged to the cluster once called Porland. If these conclusions be admitted, there can be no suspicion of fiction in the story of Zeno, as far as it respects Prince Zichmni, and his expeditions. Shetland may then well enough agree with Estland, which is described by Hakluyt as lying "between Frisland and Norway."*

The only place which in Zeno's relation is called by the same name, by which it is now known, is Iceland; though there can be no doubt that Engroenland, or Engroveland, is the same with Greenland; where, according to Crantz, there was once a church dedicated to St. Thomas, and situate near a volcano and a hot spring.†

But the question is, where shall we find Estotiland? Dr. Forster is positive that "it cannot be any other country, than Winland (discovered in 1001) where the Normans made a settlement." The Latin books seen there by the fisherman, he supposes to have been the library of Eric, Bishop of Greenland, who went thither in the twelfth century to convert

* Vol. iii, p. 122.

† Crantz's hist. of Greenland, vol. ii, p. 265. Purchas, vol. iv, p. 651.

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convert his countrymen. He is alſo of opinion that this fiſherman had the uſe of the magnetic needle which began to be known in Europe about the year 1302, before the time of the Zenos. He alſo thinks that the country called Drogio is the ſame with Florida.

In ſome of the old maps, particularly in Sanſon's French Atlas, the name Eſtotiland is marked on the country of Labrador; but the pompous deſcription of it by the fiſherman, whether it be Labrador or Newfoundland, exceeds all the bounds of credibility, and abuſes even the licence of a traveller. The utmoſt extent of Zichmni's expedition, in conſequence of the fiſherman's report, could not be any farther weſtward than Greenland, to which his deſcription well agrees. The original inhabitants were ſhort of ſtature, half wild and lived in caverns; and between the years 1380 and 1384 they had extirpated the Normans and the monks of St. Thomas.

The diſcovery of Eſtotiland muſt therefore reſt on the report of the fiſherman; but the deſcription of it, of Drogio, and the Country S. W. of Drogio muſt be ranked in the fabulous hiſtory of America; and would probably

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bably have been long ſince forgotten, if Chriſtopher Columbus had not made his grand diſcovery; from the merit of which, his rivals and the enemies of the Spaniſh nation have uniformly endeavoured to detract.

IV. CHRISTOPHER

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IV. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

THE adventures which have been already ſpoken of were more the reſult of accident than deſign; we are now entering on one, founded in ſcience and conducted by judgment; an adventure, which whether we regard its conception, its execution, or its conſequences, will always reflect the higheſt honour on him, who projected it.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Portugueſe under the conduct of Prince Henry, and afterward of King John II, were puſhing their diſcoveries along the weſtern ſhore of Africa, to find a paſſage by the ſouth to India; a genius aroſe, whoſe memory has been preſerved with veneration in the pages of hiſtory, as the inſtrument of enlarging the region of ſcience and commerce, beyond any of his predeceſſors. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of the Republic of Genoa, was born in the year 1447, and at the age of fourteen entered on a ſeafaring life, as the proper ſphere, in which his vigorous mind was deſtined to perform exploits which

ſhould

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ſhould aſtoniſh mankind.* He was educated in the ſciences of Geometry and Aſtronomy, which form the baſis of navigation; and he was well verſed in Coſmography, Hiſtory and Philoſophy. His active and enterpriſing genius, though it enabled him to comprehend the old ſyſtems, yet would not ſuffer him to reſt in their deciſions, however ſanctified by time or by venerable names; but determined to examine them by actual experiment, he firſt viſited the ſeas within the polar circle, and afterward thoſe parts of Africa, which the Portugueſe had diſcovered, as far as the coaſt of Guinea; and by the time that he had attained the age of thirty ſeven, he had from his own experience received the fulleſt conviction, that the opinion of the ancients reſpecting the torrid and frigid zones was void of any juſt foundation.

When an old ſyſtem is found erroneous in one point, it is natural to ſuſpect it of farther imperfections; and when one difficulty is overcome, others appear leſs formidable. Such was the caſe with Columbus; and his views were accelerated by an incident, which threat-

ened

* Life of Columbus by his ſon Ferdinand, Chap. 4.—See vol. ii. of Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

Herrera's Hiſt. Amer. vol. i.

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ened to put an end to his life. During one of his voyages, the ship in which he sailed took fire, in an engagement with a Venetian galley, and the crew were obliged to leap into the sea, to avoid perishing in the flames. In this extremity, Columbus, by the help of a floating oar, swam upwards of two leagues to the coast of Portugal near Lisbon, and met with a welcome reception from many of his countrymen who were settled there.

At Lisbon, he married the daughter of Perestrello, an old seaman, who had been concerned in the discovery of Porto Santo and Madeira; from whose journals and charts, he received the highest entertainment. Pursuing his inquiries in Geography, and observing what slow progress the Portuguese made in their attempts to find a way round Africa to India, "he began to reflect that as the Portuguese travelled so far southward, it were no less proper to sail westward," and that it was reasonable to expect to find the desired land in that direction.

It must here be remembered, that India was in part known to the ancients, and that its rich and useful productions had for many centuries been conveyed into Europe, either

by

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by caravans through the deſarts of Syria and Arabia; or by the way of the Red Sea, through Egypt, into the Mediterranean.* This lucrative commerce had been ſucceſſively engroſſed by the Phenicians, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Aſſyrians, the Palmyrenes, the Arabians, the Genoeſe and the Venetians. The Portugueſe were then ſeeking it by attempting the circumnavigation of Africa; and their expectation of finding it in that direction was grounded on ancient hiſtorical traditions, that a voyage had been formerly made by the orders of Necho King of Egypt, from the Red Sea, round the ſouthern part of Africa to the ſtraits of Hercules; and that the ſame route had been traverſed by Hanno the Carthaginian, by Eudoxus the Egyptian, and others. The Portugueſe had conſumed about half a century in making various attemps, and had advanced no farther, on the weſtern coaſt of Africa, than juſt to croſs the Equator, when Columbus conceived his great deſign of finding India in the weſt.

The cauſes which led him to entertain this idea are diſtinguiſhed by his ſon, the writer of his life, into theſe three; "natural reaſon, the

* Robertſon's India. Bruce's Travels.

the authority of writers, and the testimony of sailors."

By the help of "reason," he argued in this manner: That the earth and sea composed one globe or sphere. This was known by observing the shadow of the earth in lunar eclipses. Hence he concluded that it might be travelled over from east to west, or from west to east. It had been explored to the east by some European travellers as far as Cipango, or Japan; and as far westward as the Azores or Western Islands. The remaining space, though now known to be more than half, he supposed to be but one third part of the circumference of the globe. If this space were an open sea, he imagined it might be easily sailed over; and if there were any land extending eastwardly beyond the known limits of Asia, he supposed that it must be nearer to Spain by the west, than by the east. For, it was then a received opinion that the continent and islands of India extended over one third part of the circumference of the globe; that another third part was comprehended between India and the western shore of Spain; therefore it was concluded, that the eastern part of India must be as near to Spain

as

as the western part. This opinion though now known to be erroneous, yet being then admitted as true, made it appear to Columbus very easy and practicable to discover India in the west. He hoped also that between Spain and India, in that direction, there might be found some islands; by the help of which, as resting places in his voyage, he might the better pursue his main design. The probability of the existence of land in that Ocean, he argued, partly from the opinion of philosophers, that there was more land than sea on the surface of the globe; and partly from the necessity of a counterpoise in the west, for the immense quantity of land which was known to be in the east.

Another source, from which he drew his conclusion, was, "the authority of learned men," who had affirmed the possibility of sailing from the western coast of Spain, to the eastern bounds of India. Some of the ancient Geographers had admitted this for truth, and one of them* had affirmed that forty days were sufficient to perform this navigation. These authorities fell in with the theory which Columbus had formed; and having, as early as 1474, communicated his ideas in writing

* Pliny.

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writing, to Paul a learned physician of Florence, he received from him letters of that date, confirming his opinion and encouraging his design; accompanied with a chart, in which Paul had laid down the city of Quisay (supposed to be the capital of China) but little more than two thousand leagues westward from Lisbon, which in fact is but half te distance. Thus, by arguing from true principles, and by indulging conjectures partly well founded and partly erroneous, Columbus was led to the execution of a plan, bold in its conception, and, to his view, easily practicable; for great minds overlook intermediate obstacles, which men of smaller views magnify into insuperable difficulties.

The third ground on which he formed his idea was "the testimony of mariners;" a class of men who at that time, and in that imperfect state of science, were too prone to mix fable with fact; and were often misled by appearances, which they could not solve. In the sea, between Madeira and the Western Islands, pieces of carved wood and large joints of cane had been discovered, which were supposed to be brought by westerly winds. Branches of pine trees, a covered canoe, and two human

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man bodies of a complexion different from the Europeans and Africans had been found on the ſhores of theſe iſlands. Some navigators had affirmed, that they had ſeen iſlands not more than an hundred leagues weſtward from the Azores. There was a tradition, that when Spain was conquered by the Moors in the eighth century, ſeven Biſhops, who were exiled from their country, had built ſeven cities and churches, on an iſland called Antilla; which was ſuppoſed to be not more than two hundred leagues weſt of the Canaries; and it was ſaid that a Portugueſe ſhip had once diſcovered this iſland, but could never find it again. Theſe ſtories, partly true and partly fabulous, had their effect on the mind of Columbus. He believed that iſlands were were to be found, weſtward of the Azores and Canaries; though according to his theory, they were at a greater diſtance than any of his contemporaries had imagined. His candour led him to adopt an opinion from Pliny reſpecting floating iſlands, by the help of which he accounted for the appearances related to him, by his marine brethren. It is not improbable that the large iſlands of floating ice, driven from the Polar Seas to the ſouthward;

or

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or the Fog Banks, which form many singular appearances resembling land and trees, might have been the true foundation of this opinion and of these reports.*

It

* The following account of a curious deception, extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine, may elucidate the above observations.

"March 4, 1748—9, at two in the afternoon, made land which bore N. E. seven leagues distance by estimation: at five tacked, being about three leagues from said island, wind E. S. E. latitude by observation 49° 40′; longitude 24° 30′, from the Lizard. This island stretches N. W. and S. E. about 5 leagues long, and 9 miles wide. On the south side fine valleys and a great number of birds.

March 5, said island bore N. three leagues, N. W. a reef of rocks three miles. This day a ship's mast came along side. On the south point of said island is a small marshy island."

"A copy of my journal on board the snow St. Paul, of London, bound from South Carolina to London.

William Otton, Commander."

P. S. Captain Otton thought he saw a tent on the island, and would have gone ashore, but had unfortunately stove his boat some time before.

"Commodore Rodney is commissioned to go in quest of an island, which, according to the report of a master of a ship, and some others, on examination before the Lords of the Admiralty, lies about 50° N. and about 300 leagues west of England. Capt. Murdock Mackenzie, an excellent mathematician, and author of the sea charts of the Orkney and Lewis islands, attends him in the Culloden sloop, to bring back an account of what discoveries he may make. As this island lies out of the track of the trade to America, it is supposed to have been missed by navigators to our colonies, *though marked in some Dutch maps.* If the Commodore discovers it, he is to take possession of it by the name of Rodney's island."

"Friday

It is not pretended that Columbus was the only person of his age who had acquired these ideas of the form, dimensions and balancing of the globe; but he was one of the few who had begun to think for themselves, and he had a genius of that kind, which makes use of speculation and reasoning only as excitements to action. He was not a closet projector, but an enterprising adventurer; and having established his theory on principles, he was determined to exert himself to the utmost, to demonstrate its truth by experiment. But deeming the enterprise too great to be undertaken by any but a sovereign state, he first applied (as it is said) to the Republic of Genoa, by whom his project was treated as visionary.* He then proposed his plan to John

"Friday, April 10, 1752, Commodore Rodney arrived at Woolwich; he had been cruising ten days in quest of an island, and the men at the top-mast-head were more than once deceived with what the sailors call fog-banks. About the 6th or 7th day the crew observed branches of trees with their leaves on, and flights of gulls, and pieces of shipwreck, which are generally regarded as certain signs of an adjacent shore, but could not discover any." *Gent. Mag. for* 1751, *p.* 235. *for* 1752, *p.* 88, 189.

N. B. The island *marked in the Dutch maps*, could not have been mistaken for this imaginary island, being but a single rock. It is the same that is described in the life of Zeno. *Page* 82.

* This is said on the authority of Herrera the royal Spanish historian; Ferdinando Columbus, in the life of his father, says nothing

John II. King of Portugal, who, though a Prince of good underſtanding and of an enterpriſing diſpoſition, yet was ſo deeply engaged in proſecuting diſcoveries on the African coaſt, with a view to find a way to India round that continent, and had been at ſo vaſt an expenſe without any conſiderable ſucceſs, that he had no inclination to accept the terms which Columbus propoſed. Influenced however by the advice of Calzadilla, a favourite courtier, he privately gave orders to a ſhip, bound to the iſlands of Cape de Verd, to attempt a diſcovery in the weſt; but through ignorance and want of enterpriſe, the navigators, after wandering for ſome time in the ocean and making no diſcovery, reached their deſtined port and turned the project of Columbus into ridicule.

Diſguſted with this baſe artifice, he quitted Portugal, and went to Ferdinand, King of Spain, having previouſly ſent his brother to England to ſolicit the patronage of Henry VII. But being taken by pirates, and detained ſeveral years in captivity, Bartholomew had it not in his power to reveal his project to Henry,

nothing of it; but repreſents his application to the King of Portugal as the firſt, and gives this reaſon for it, "becauſe he lived under him."

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Henry, till Chriſtopher Columbus had ſucceeded in Spain. Before this could be accompliſhed, he had various obſtacles to ſurmount; and it was not till after ſeven years of painful ſolicitation that he obtained his requeſt.

The objections made to the propoſal of Columbus, by the moſt learned men in Spain, to whom the conſideration of it was referred, will give us ſome idea of the ſtate of geographical ſcience at that time. One objection was, How ſhould he know more than all the wiſe men and ſkilful ſailors who had exiſted ſince the creation? Another was the authority of Seneca, who had doubted whether it were poſſible to navigate the ocean at any great diſtance from the ſhore; but admitting that it were navigable, they imagined, that three years would be required to perform the voyage, which Columbus propoſed. A third was, that if a ſhip ſhould ſail weſtward on a round globe, ſhe would neceſſarily go down, on the oppoſite ſide, and then it would be impoſſible to return, becauſe it would be like climbing up a hill, which no ſhip could do with the ſtrongeſt wind. A fourth objection was grounded on a book of St. Auguſtine,

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in which he had expreſſed his doubt of the exiſtence of antipodes and the poſſibility of going from one hemiſphere to the other. As the writings of this Holy Father had received the ſanction of the Church, to contradict him was deemed hereſy.

For ſuch reaſons, and by ſuch reaſoners, the propoſal of Columbus was at firſt rejected; but by the influence of John Perez, a Spaniſh Prieſt, and Lewis Santangel, an officer of the King's houſhold, Queen Iſabella was perſuaded to liſten to his ſolicitation, and after he had been twice repulſed, to recal him to Court; when ſhe offered to pawn her jewels to defray the expenſe of the equipment, amounting to no more than 2500 crowns; which ſum was advanced by Santangel, and the Queen's jewels were ſaved. Thus, to the generous deciſion of a female mind, we owe the diſcovery of America.

The conditions ſtipulated between Ferdinand and Iſabella on the one part, and Columbus on the other part, were theſe: "That he, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhould hold the office of Admiral in all thoſe *Iſlands and Continents* which he ſhould diſcover; that he ſhould be Viceroy and Governor of the ſame, with

with power of nominating three associates, of whom their majesties should appoint one. That he should have one tenth part of the neat proceeds of all the gold, and silver, precious stones, spice and other merchandise which should be found; that he, or a deputy of his own appointing, should decide all controversies respecting the trade; that he should be at one eighth part of the expense of equipping the first fleet, and should receive one eighth part of the profits."

The necessary preparations being made, and a year's provision laid in, on the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from Palos, a port of Spain, on the Mediterranean, with three vessels, one of which was called a carrack, and the other two, caravels;* having on board, the whole, ninety men. Having passed through the straits of Gibraltar, he arrived at the Canaries, on the 12th of the same month; where he was detained in refitting one of the caravels, and taking in wood and water, till the 6th of September, when he sailed westward on his voyage of discovery.

This voyage, which now is considered as an easy and pleasant run, between the latitudes

* A carrack was a vessel with a deck; a caravel had none.

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of 20 and 30 degrees, with a trade wind, was then the boldeſt attempt which had ever been made, and filled the minds of the beſt ſeamen with apprehenſion. They were going directly from home, and from all hope of relief, if any accident ſhould befal them. No friendly port nor human being was known to be in that direction. Every bird which flew in the air, every fiſh which appeared in the ſea, and every weed which floated on its ſurface, was regarded with the moſt minute attention, as if the fate of the voyage depended on it. A phenomenon which had never before been obſerved ſtruck them with terror. The magnetic needle appeared to vary from the pole: They began to apprehend that their compaſs would prove an unfaithful guide; and the trade wind, which wafted them along with its friendly wings, they feared would obſtruct their return.

To be twenty days at ſea, without ſight of land, was what the boldeſt mariner had never before attempted. At the expiration of that time the impatient ſailors began to talk of throwing their commander into the ocean, and returning home. Their murmurs reached his ears; but his active mind was never at

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a loſs for expedients, even in the greateſt extremity. By ſoothing, flattery, and artifice, by inventing reaſons for every uncommon appearance, by promiſing rewards to the obedient, and a gratuity to him who ſhould firſt diſcover land, in addition to what the King had ordered; and by deceiving them in the ſhip's reckoning, he kept them on their courſe for ſixteen days longer. In the night of the 11th of October, he himſelf ſaw a light, which ſeemed to be on ſhore, and in the morning of the 12th, they had the joyful ſight of land, which proved to be the iſland of Guanahana, one of the cluſter called Bahamas, in the 25th degree of north latitude.

Thus in the ſpace of thirty ſix days, and in the 45th year of his age, Columbus completed a voyage which he had ſpent twenty years in projecting and executing; a voyage which opened to the Europeans a new world; which gave a new turn to their thoughts, to their ſpirit of enterpriſe and of commerce; which enlarged the empire of Spain, and ſtamped with immortality the name of Columbus.

After ſpending ſeveral months in ſailing from one iſland to another in that vaſt archipelago, which, from the miſtakes of the age

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received the name of the Weſt-Indies. Columbus returned to Spain with the two ſmaller veſſels, (the larger having been wrecked on the iſland of Hiſpaniola) leaving behind him a colony of thirty nine men, furniſhed with a year's proviſion, and lodged in a fort which had been built of the timber ſaved from the wreck. During his paſſage he met with a violent tempeſt which threatened him with deſtruction. In this extremity, he gave an admirable proof of his calmneſs and foreſight. He wrote on parchment an account of his diſcoveries, wrapped it in a piece of oiled cloth, and incloſed it in a cake of wax, which he put into a tight caſk and threw into the ſea. Another parchment, ſecured in the ſame manner, he placed on the ſtern, that if the ſhip ſhould ſink, the caſk might float, and poſſibly one or the other might be driven on ſhore, or taken up at ſea by ſome future navigator. But this precaution proved fruitleſs. He arrived ſafe in Spain, in March, 1493, and was received with the honours due to his merit.

The account which Columbus gave of his new diſcoveries, the ſpecimens of gold and other valuable productions, and the ſight of the

the natives which he carried from the West-Indies to Spain, were so pleasing that the court determined on another expedition. But first it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the Pope, who readily granted it; and by an imaginary line, drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues westward of the Azores, he divided between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, all the new countries already discovered or to be discovered; giving the western part to the former, and the eastern to the latter. No provision however was made, in case that they should meet, and their claims should interfere on the opposite side of the globe. The bull, containing this famous but imperfect line of demarkation, was signed by Alexander VI. on the second day of May, 1493; and on the 28th of the same month, the King and Queen of Spain, by a written instrument, explained and confirmed the privileges and powers which they had before granted to Columbus, making the office of Viceroy and Governor of the Indies hereditary in his family. On the 25th of September following, he sailed from Cadiz, with a fleet of seventeen ships, great and small, well furnished with all necessaries

ſaries for the voyage; and having on board 1500 people, with horſes, cattle, and implements to eſtabliſh plantations.

On Sunday the third of November, he diſcovered an iſland, to which, in honour of the day, he gave the name of Dominica. Afterward he diſcovered in ſucceſſion other iſlands, which he called Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Montſerrat, Redonda, Antigua, St. Martin's, St. Urſula, and St. John. On the 12th of November he came to Navidad, on the North ſide of Hiſpaniola, where he had built his fort, and left his colony; but he had the mortification to find, that the people were all dead, and that the fort had been deſtroyed.

The account given by the natives, of the loſs of the colony, was, that they fell into diſcord among themſelves, on the uſual ſubjects of controverſy, women and gold; that having provoked a chief, whoſe name was Canaubo, he came againſt them with a ſuperior force, and deſtroyed them; that ſome of the natives, in attempting to defend them, had been killed, and others were then ill of their wounds; which, on inſpection, appeared to have been made with Indian weapons.

Columbus prudently forbore to make any critical inquiry into the matter; but haſted

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to eſtabliſh another colony, in a more eligible ſituation, to the eaſtward; which he called Iſabella, after his royal patroneſs. He had many difficulties to contend with, beſides thoſe which unavoidably attend undertakings of ſuch novelty and magnitude. Nature indeed was bountiful: the ſoil and climate produced vegetation, with a rapidity to which the Spaniards had not been accuſtomed. From wheat ſown at the end of January, full ears were gathered at the end of March. The ſtones of fruit, the ſlips of vines and the joints of ſugar cane ſprouted in ſeven days, and many other ſeeds in half the time. This was an encouraging proſpect; but the ſlow operations of agriculture did not meet the views of ſanguine adventurers. The numerous followers of Columbus, ſome of whom were of the beſt families in Spain, had conceived hopes of ſuddenly enriching themſelves, by the precious metals of thoſe new regions; and were not diſpoſed, to liſten to his recommendations of patience and induſtry, in cultivating the earth. The natives were diſpleaſed with the licentiouſneſs of their new neighbours; who endeavoured to keep them in awe by a diſplay of force. The exploſion of fire arms,

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and the ſight of men mounted on horſes, were at firſt, objects of terror; but uſe had rendered them leſs formidable. Columbus, overburdened with care and fatigue, fell ſick, and at his recovery, found a mutiny among his men; which, by a due mixture of reſolution and lenity, he had the addreſs to quell. He then endeavoured to eſtabliſh diſcipline among his own people, and to employ the natives in cutting roads through the woods. Whilſt he was preſent, and able to attend to buſineſs, things went on ſo proſperouſly, that he thought he might ſafely proceed on his diſcoveries.

In his former voyage he had viſited Cuba; but was uncertain whether it were an iſland or a part of ſome continent. He therefore paſſed over to its eaſtern extremity; and coaſted its ſouthern ſide, till he found himſelf entangled among a vaſt number of ſmall iſlands, which for their beauty and fertility he called the Garden of the Queen; but the dangerous rocks and ſhoals, which ſurrounded them, obliged him to ſtretch farther to the ſouthward; by which means, he diſcovered the iſland of Jamaica; where he found water and other refreſhments for his men, who were

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almoſt dead with famine. The hazard, fatigue and diſtreſs of this voyage, threw him into a lethargic diſorder, from which he had juſt recovered, when he returned to his colony and found it all in confuſion; from the ſame cauſes which had proved deſtructive to the firſt.

In his abſence, the licentiouſneſs of the Spaniards had provoked ſeveral of the chiefs; four of whom had united to deſtroy them, and had actually commenced hoſtilities, in which twenty Spaniards were killed. Columbus collected his people, put them into the beſt order, and by a judicious combination of force and ſtratagem gained a deciſive victory, to which the horſes and dogs did not a little contribute.

At his return to Hiſpaniola, he had the pleaſure of meeting his brother Bartholomew, whom he had not ſeen for ſeveral years, and whom he ſuppoſed to have been dead. Bartholomew was a man of equal knowledge, experience, bravery and prudence with himſelf. His patience had endured a ſevere trial in their long ſeparation. He had many obſtacles to ſurmount, before he could get to England and obtain acceſs to the King. He was at

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Paris when he heard of the ſucceſs of his brother's firſt enterprize; who had gone on the ſecond, before Bartholomew could get to Spain. On his arrival there, and being introduced to the court, he was appointed to the command of three ſhips, which were deſtined to convey ſupplies to the colony; and he arrived whilſt Chriſtopher was abſent on his voyage to Cuba and Jamaica. Columbus appointed his brother to command at Iſabella, whilſt he went into the interior part of the iſland, to perfect his conqueſt, and reduce the natives to ſubjection and tribute.

The Indians were ſo unuſed to collect gold duſt, in ſuch quantities as their conquerors demanded it, that they offered to plant the immenſe plains of Hiſpaniola, and pay an equivalent in corn. Columbus was ſtruck with the magnanimity of the propoſal; and in conſequence, moderated the tribute. This did not ſatisfy the avarice of his fellow adventurers, who found means to complain of him to the King's miniſters, for his negligence in acquiring the only commodity, which they thought deſerved the name of riches. The Indians then deſiſted from planting their uſual quantity of corn, and attempted to ſubſiſt

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chiefly on animal food. This experiment proved injurious to themſelves as well as to their conquerors; and it was computed, that within four years, from the firſt diſcovery of the iſland, one third part of its inhabitants periſhed.

The complaints againſt Columbus ſo wrought on the jealous mind of King Ferdinand, that John Aguado, who was ſent, in 1495, with ſupplies to the colony, had orders to act as a ſpy on his conduct. This man behaved with ſo little diſcretion, as to ſeek matter of accuſation, and give out threats againſt the Admiral. At the ſame time, the ſhips which he commanded, being deſtroyed by a hurricane, he had no means left to return; till Columbus, knowing that he had enemies at home and nothing to ſupport him but his own merit, reſolved to go to Spain, with two caravels; himſelf in one, and Aguado in the other. Having appointed proper perſons to command the ſeveral forts; his brother Bartholomew to ſuperintend the whole, and his brother James to be next in authority; he ſet ſail on the tenth of March 1496, and after a perilous and tedious voyage, in the tropical latitudes,

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latitudes, arrived at Cadiz on the eleventh of June.

His presence at Court, with the gold and other valuable articles which he carried home, removed, in some measure, the prejudices which had been excited against him. But his enemies, though silent, were not idle; and in a court, where phlegm and languor proved a clog to the spirit of enterprize, they found it not difficult to obstruct his views; which, notwithstanding all discouragements, were still pointed to the discovery of a way to India by the west.

He now demanded eight ships, to carry supplies to his colony, and six to go on discovery. These demands were complied with, and he began his third voyage on the thirtieth of May 1498. He kept a course so far to the southward, that not only his men, but his provisions and water suffered greatly from excessive heat. The first land he made after leaving the Isles of Cape de Verd, was a large island which he named Trinidad, from its appearance in the form of three mountains. He then passed through a narrow strait and whirlpool into the gulf of Paria; where, observing the tide to be rapid, and the water brack-

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ish, he conjectured, that the land, on the western and southern sides of the gulf, was part of a continent; and that the fresh water proceeded from some great rivers.

The people on the coast of Paria were whiter than those of the islands. They had about their necks plates of gold and strings of pearl; which they readily exchanged for pieces of tin and brass, and little bells; and when they were questioned whence they obtained the gold and pearls, they pointed to the west.

The Admiral's provision not allowing him to stay long in this place; he passed again, through that dangerous strait, to which he gave the name of the Dragon's Mouth; and having satisfied himself, that the land on his left was a continent, he steered to the N. W; discovering Margarita and several other islands in his course; and on the thirtieth of August, arrived at the harbour of St. Domingo, in Hispaniola; to which place his brother had removed the colony in his absence, in consequence of a plan preconcerted between them.

Wearied with incessant care and watching, in this dangerous voyage, he hoped now to enjoy repose; instead of which he found his colony much reduced by deaths; many of the

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the ſurvivors ſick, with a diſeaſe, the peculiar conſequence of their debauchery; and a large number of them in actual rebellion. They had formed themſelves into a body; they had gained over many of the Indians, under pretence of protecting them; and they had retired to a diſtant part of the iſland, which proved a reſort for the ſeditious and diſcontented. Their commander was Francis Roldan, who had been Chief Juſtice of the colony; and their number was ſo conſiderable, that Columbus could not command a force ſufficient to ſubdue them. He therefore entered into a negociation, by offering a pardon to thoſe who would ſubmit, and liberty of returning to Spain to thoſe who deſired it. Theſe offers, however impolitic, proved ſucceſsful. Roldan himſelf accepted them, and perſuaded others to do the ſame; then, being reſtored to his office, he tried and condemned the refractory, ſome of whom were put to death.

An account of this mutiny was ſent home to Spain by Columbus and another by Roldan. Each had their advocates at court, and the cauſe was heard by the King and Queen. Roldan and his men were accuſed of adultery, perjury, robbery, murder, and diſturbing the

peace

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peace of the whole island; whilst Columbus was charged with cruelty to individuals, aiming at independence, and engrossing the tribute. It was insinuated, that not being a native of Spain, he had no proper respect for the noble families, who had become adventurers; and that the debts due to them could not be recovered. It was suggested, that if some remedy were not speedily applied, there was danger that he would revolt, and join with some other Prince; and that to compass this design, he had concealed the real wealth of the colony, and prevented the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith.

These insinuations prevailed on the jealousy of Ferdinand, and even staggered the constancy of Isabella. They resolved to appoint a judge, who should examine facts on the spot; and if he should find the Admiral guilty, to supersede him. For this purpose they sent Francis Bovadilla, a man of noble rank, but whose poverty alone recommended him to the office. Furnished with these powers, he arrived at St. Domingo, when Columbus was absent; took lodgings in his house, invited accusers to appear against him; seized on his effects, and finally sent him and both

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his brothers, to Spain in three different ships, but all loaded with irons.

The master of the ship in which the Admiral sailed had so much respect for him, that, when he had got to sea, he offered to take off his fetters; but Columbus nobly declared, that he would permit that honour to be done him, by none but his sovereign. In this humiliating confinement, he was delivered to Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos, who had been the chief instigator of all these rigorous proceedings, and to whom had been committed the affairs of the Indies.

Not content with robbing Columbus of his liberty, this prejudiced ecclesiastic would have deprived him of his well earned reputation of having first discovered the new continent. With the accusations which Columbus had sent home against Roldan, he had transmitted an account of the discovery of the coast of Paria, which he justly supposed to be part of a continent. Ojeda, an active officer, who had sailed with Columbus in his second voyage, was at court when these dispatches arrived, and saw the draught of the discovery, with the specimens of gold and pearls, which the Admiral had sent home. Being a favourite

of Fonseca, he easily obtained leave to pursue the discovery. Some merchants of Seville were prevailed upon to equip four ships; with which, in 1499, Ojeda followed the track of Columbus, and made land on the coast of Paria. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, well skilled in geography and navigation, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage; and by publishing the first book and chart, describing the new world, obtained the honour of having it called AMERICA. This however did not happen till after the death of Columbus. Several other adventurers followed the same track, and all supposed that the continent which they had seen, was part of India.

As soon as it was known, that Columbus was arrived at Cadiz, (Nov. 5, 1500) in the disgraceful situation abovementioned, the King and Queen, ashamed of the orders which they had given, commanded him to be released, and invited him to court; where they apologized for the misbehaviour of their new Governor, and not only promised to recal him, but to restore to the Admiral all his effects. Columbus could not forget the ignominy. He preserved the letters, hung them up in his

apartment, and ordered them to be buried in his grave.

Instead of reinstating him in his government according to the original contract, the King and Queen sent Ovando, to Hispaniola, to supersede Bovadilla; and only indulged Columbus in pursuing his darling project, the discovery of India by the west, which he still hoped to accomplish. He sailed again from Cadiz, on the fourth of May, 1502; with four vessels, carrying one hundred and forty men and boys; of which number were his brother Bartholomew and his son Ferdinand, the writer of his life.

In his passage to the Caribbee islands, he found his largest vessel, of seventy tons, unfit for the service; and therefore went to St. Domingo, in hope of exchanging it for a better; and to seek shelter from a storm which he saw approaching. To his infinite surprize and mortification, Ovando would not admit him into the port. A fleet of thirty ships was then ready to sail for Spain, on board of which Roldan and Bovadilla were prisoners. Columbus informed Ovando, of the prognostics which he had observed, which Ovando disregarded, and the fleet sailed. Columbus then

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laid three of his vessels, under the lee of the shore; and, with great difficulty, rode out the tempest. His brother put to sea; and by his great naval skill saved the ship in which he sailed. Of the fleet bound to Spain, eighteen ships were lost, and in them perished Roldan and Bovadilla.

The enemies of Columbus gave out that he had raised this storm by the art of magic; and such was the ignorance of the age, that the story was believed: What contributed the more to its credit, was, that one of the worst ships of the fleet, on board of which were all the effects which had been saved from the ruined fortune of Columbus, was the first which arrived in Spain. The amount of these effects was "four thousand pesos of gold, each of the value of eight shillings." The remark which Ferdinando Columbus makes on this event, so destructive to the accusers of his father, is, "I am satisfied, it was the hand of God, who was pleased to infatuate them; that they might not hearken to good advice; for had they arrived in Spain, they had never been punished, as their crimes deserved; but rather favoured and preferred as being the Bishop's friends."* After

* Chap. 88.

After this storm, and another which followed it, Columbus having collected his little squadron, sailed on discovery toward the continent, and steering to the southwest came to an island called Guanaja, twelve leagues from the coast of Honduras, where he met with a large canoe, having on board several pieces of cotton cloth of divers colours, which the people said they had brought from the westward. The men were armed with swords of wood, in which sharp flints were strongly fixed. Their provisions was maize and roots, and they used the berries of cocoa as money. When the Admiral inquired for gold, they pointed to the west; and when he asked for a strait by which he might pass through the land, they pointed to the east. From the specimens of coloured cloth, he imagined that they had come from India; and he hoped to pass thither by the strait which they described. Pursuing his course to the east and south, he was led to the gulf of Darien, and visited several harbours among which was one which he called Puerto Bello, but he found no passage through the land. He then returned to the westward; and landed on the coast of Veragua;

gulf, where the beauty and fertility of the country invited him to begin a plantation, which he called Belem; but the natives, a fierce and formidable race, deprived him of the honour of first establishing a colony on the continent, by killing some of his people, and obliging him to retire with the others.

At sea, he met with tempestuous weather of long continuance, in which his ships were so shattered, that with the utmost difficulty he kept them above water, till he run them ashore on the island of Jamaica. By his extraordinary address, he procured from the natives two of their largest canoes, in which two of his most faithful friends, Mendez and Fieschi, accompanied by some of his sailors and a few Indians, embarked for Hispaniola. After encountering the greatest difficulties, in their passage, they carried tidings of his misfortune to Ovando, and solicited his aid. The merciless wretch detained them eight months, without an answer; during which time, Columbus suffered the severest hardships, from the discontent of his company and the want of provisions. By the hospitality of the natives, he at first received such supplies, as they were able to spare; but the

long continuance of these gusts had diminished their store, and the insolence of the mutineers gave a check to their friendship. In this extremity, the fertile invention of Columbus suggested an expedient which proved successful. He knew that a total eclipse of the moon was at hand, which would be visible in the evening. On the preceding day, he sent for the principal Indians, to speak with them on a matter of the utmost importance. Being assembled, he directed his interpreter to tell them, that the God of heaven, whom he worshipped, was angry with them, for withholding provision from him, and would punish them with famine and pestilence; as a token of which, the moon would, in the evening, appear of an angry and bloody colour. Some of them received his speech with terror, and others with indifference; but when the moon rose, and the eclipse increased as she advanced from the horizon, they came in crowds, loaded with provision, and begged the Admiral to intercede with his God, for the removal of his anger. Columbus retired to his cabin; and when the eclipse began to go off, he came out and told them, that he had prayed to his God, and had received this answer;

that

that if they would be good for the future, and bring him provision as he should want, God would forgive them; and as a token of it, the moon would put on her usual brightness. They gave him thanks, and promised compliance; and whilst he remained on the island there was no more want of provision.

At the end of eight months, Ovando sent a small vessel to Jamaica, with a cask of wine, two flitches of bacon, and a letter of compliment and excuse, which the officer delivered; and without waiting for an answer, weighed his anchor the same evening and sailed back to Hispaniola. The men who adhered to Columbus and were with him on board the wrecks, wondered at the sudden departure of the vessel, by which they expected deliverance. Columbus, never at a loss for an evasion, told them that the caravel was too small to take the whole company, and he would not go without them. This fiction had the desired effect; those who adhered to him resumed their patience; but the mutineers became so insolent that it was necessary to subdue them by force. In the contest ten of them were killed. Porras, their leader, was made prisoner and the others escaped.

Bartholomew Columbus

and

and some others of the Admiral's party were wounded, of whom one died.

The fugitives, having lost their leader, thought it best to submit; and on the next day sent a petition to the Admiral, confessing their fault, and promising fidelity. This promise they confirmed by an oath, of which the imprecation was singular; they renounced, in case of failure, any absolution from Priest, Bishop, or Pope, at the time of their death, and all benefit from the sacraments of the Church, consenting to be buried like heathens and infidels in the open field. The Admiral received their submission, provided that Porras should continue prisoner, and they would accept a commander of his appointment, as long as they should remain on the island.

At length a vessel, which Montez had been permitted to buy, with the Admiral's money, at Hispaniola, came to Jamaica, and took them off. On their arrival at St. Domingo (August 13, 1504) Ovando affected great joy, and treated the Admiral with a show of respect, but he liberated Porras, and threatened with punishment the faithful adherents of Columbus. As soon as the vessel was refitted,

fitted, the Admiral took leave of his treacherous host, and, with his brother, son, and servants, embarked for Spain. After a long and distressing voyage, in which the ship had been twice, he arrived at St. Lucar, in May 1505.

His patroness Isabella had been dead about a year, and with her had expired all the favour which he enjoyed in the Court of Ferdinand. Worn out with sickness and fatigue, disgusted with the insincerity of his Sovereign, and the haughtiness of his courtiers, Columbus lingered out a year in fruitless solicitation for his violated rights; till death relieved him from all his vexations. He died at Valladolid, on the twentieth of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age; and was buried in the cathedral of Seville, with this inscription on his Tomb.

A Castilla ya Leon,
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.

Translated thus.

To Castile and Leon,
Columbus gave a new World.

In the life of this remarkable man there is no deficiency of any quality which can

constitute

constitute a truly great character.* His genius was penetrating, and his judgment solid. He had acquired as much knowledge of the sciences as could be obtained at that day; and he corrected what he had learned, by his own observations. His constancy and patience were equal to the most hazardous undertakings. His fortitude surmounted many difficulties; and his invention extricated him out of many perplexities. His prudence enabled him to conceal or subdue his own infirmities; whilst he took advantage of the passions of others, adjusting his behaviour to his circumstances; temporizing, or acting with vigour, as the occasion required.

His fidelity to the ungrateful Prince, whom he served, and whose dominions he enlarged, must render him forever conspicuous as an example of justice; and his attachment to the Queen, by whose influence he was raised and supported, will always be a monument of his gratitude.

To his other excellent qualities may be added his piety. He always entertained, and on proper

* Some of these observations are taken from Dr. Campbell's account of European settlements in America, Vol. I. Chap. viii.

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proper occasions expressed, a reverence for the Deity, and a firm confidence in his care and protection. In his declining days, the consolations of religion were his chief support; and his last words were, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

The persecution and injustice which he suffered, may be traced up to the contract, which he insisted on, before he engaged in the plan of discovery. That a foreigner should attain so high a rank as to be Viceroy for life, and that the honour of an Admiral should be hereditary in his family, to the exclusion of all the nobles of Spain, was more than their pride and jealousy could endure; and they constantly endeavoured to depreciate his merit; the only foundation on which his honours were erected.

There is a story recorded by Peter Martyr, a contemporary historian, which exemplifies their malice, and his ingenuity in rising superior to it. After the death of the Queen, the nobility affected to insinuate, that his discoveries were more the result of accident and good fortune, than of any well concerted measures. One day at a public dinner, Columbus having borne much insulting raillery on that head,

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at length called for an egg, and asked whether any of them could set it upright on its little end. They all confessed it to be impossible. Columbus striking it gently, flatted the shell till it stood upright on the table. The company, with a disdainful sneer, cryed out, "Any body might have done it." "Yes (said Columbus) but none of you thought of it; so I discovered the Indies, and now every pilot can steer the same course. Many things appear easy when once performed, though before, they were thought impossible. Remember the scoffs that were thrown at me, before I put my design in execution. Then it was a dream, a chimera, a delusion; now it is what any body might have done as well as I."

When this story was told to Ferdinand, he could not but admire the grandeur of that spirit, which at the same time he was endeavouring to depress.

Writers of different countries have treated the character of Columbus according to their prejudices, either national or personal. It is surprising to observe, how these prejudices have descended, and that even at the distance of three centuries, there are some, who affect to deny him the virtues for which he was conspicuous,

spacious, and the merit of originating a discovery, which is an honour to human reason. His humanity has been called in question, because he carried dogs to the West Indies, and employed them in extirpating the natives. The truth is, that in his second expedition he was accompanied by a number of gentlemen of the best families in Spain, and many more would have gone if it had been possible to accommodate them. These gentlemen carried with them "horses, asses and other beasts, which were of great use in a new plantation." The conflict which Columbus had with the natives was in consequence of the disorderly conduct of these Spaniards, who, in his absence, had taken their goods, abused their women and committed other outrages, which the Indians could not endure, and therefore made war upon them. In this war he found his colony engaged, when he returned from his voyage to Cuba; and there was no way to end it, but by pursuing it with vigour. With two hundred Spaniards, of whom *twenty* were mounted on "horses followed by *as many* dogs," he encountered a numerous body of Indians, estimated at one hundred thousand, on a large plain. He divided his men into

two

two parties, and attacked them on two sides; the noise of the fire arms, soon dispersed them, and the horses and dogs prevented them from rallying; and thus a complete victory was obtained. In this instance alone, were the dogs used against the natives. They naturally followed their masters into the field, and the horses to which they were accustomed; but to suppose that Columbus transported them to the West Indies, with a view to destroy the Indians, appears altogether idle, when it is considered that the number is reckoned only at twenty. Excepting in this instance, where he was driven by necessity, there is no evidence, that he made war on the natives of the West Indies; on the contrary, he endeavoured as far as possible to treat them with justice and gentleness. The same cannot be said of those who succeeded him.

Attempts have also been made to detract from his merit, as an original discoverer of the New World. The most successful candidate, who has been set up as a rival to him, is MARTIN BEHAIM of Nuremberg in Germany. His claim to a prior discovery has been so well contested, and the vanity of it so fully exposed by the late Dr. Robertson, that

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I ſhould not have thought of adding any thing to what he has written, had not a memoir appeared in the ſecond volume of the Tranſactions of the American Philoſophical Society* at Philadelphia, in which the pretenſions of Behaim are revived by M. OTTO; who has produced ſome authorities which he had obtained from Nuremberg, an imperial city of Germany, and which appear to him, "to eſtabliſh in the cleareſt manner a diſcovery of America anterior to that of Columbus."

It is conceded that Behaim was a man of learning and enterpriſe; that he was contemporary with Columbus, and was his friend; that he purſued the ſame ſtudies and drew the ſame concluſions; that he was employed by King John II. in making diſcoveries; and, that he met with deſerved honour for the important ſervices which he rendered to the crown of Portugal. But, there are ſuch difficulties attending the ſtory of his diſcovering America, as appear to me inſuperable. These I ſhall ſtate; together with ſome remarks on the authorities produced by M. Otto.

The firſt of his authorities contains ſeveral aſſertions which are contradicted by other hiſ-

* No. 35, p. 263.

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tories;* (1.) That Isabella, daughter of John, King of Portugal, reigned after the death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good. (2.) That to this lady, when regent of the Dutchy of Burgundy and Flanders, Behaim paid a visit in 1459. And (3.) that having informed her of his designs, he procured a vessel in which he made the discovery of the island of Fayal, in 1460.

It is true that Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Flanders, surnamed the Good, married Isabella the daughter of John I. King of Portugal; but Philip did not die till 1467, and was immediately succeeded by his son Charles, surnamed the Bold, then thirty four years of age. There could therefore have been no interregnum, nor female regent after the death of Philip; and if there had been, the time of Behaim's visit will not correspond with it; that being placed in 1459, eight years before the death of Philip. Such a mistake, in point of fact, and of chronology, is sufficient to induce a suspicion that the "archives of Nuremberg" are too deficient in accuracy to be depended on as authorities.

With

* Memoirs of Philip de Comines. Mezeray's and Henault's history of France. Collier's Dictionary.

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With respect to the discovery of Fayal, in 1460, M. Otto acknowledges that it is "contrary to the received opinion;" and well he might; for the first of the Azores, St. Maria, was discovered in 1431; the second, St. Michael, in 1444; the third, Terceira, in 1445; and before 1449, the islands, St. George, Graciosa, Fayal and Pico, were known to the Portuguese.* However true it may be that Behaim settled in the island of Fayal, and lived there twenty years; yet his claim to the discovery of it must have a better foundation than the "archives of Nuremberg," before it can be admitted.

The genuine account of the settlement of Fayal, and the interest which Behaim had in it, is thus related by Dr. Forster, a German author of much learning and good credit.

"After the death of the infant Don Henry [which happened in 1463,] the island of Fayal was made a present of by [his sister] Isabella, Dutchess of Burgundy, to Jobst von Hurter, a native of Nuremberg. Hurter went in 1466, with a colony of more than 2000 Flemings of both sexes, to his property, the isle of Fayal. The Dutchess had provided the Flem-

* Forster's history of voyages and discoveries, p. 256, 257, Dublin edition.

ish emigrants with all necessaries for two years, and the colony soon increased. About the year 1486, Martin Behaim married a daughter of the Chevalier Jobst von Hurter, and had a son by her named Martin. Jobst von Hurter, and Martin Behaim, both natives of Nuremberg, were Lords of Fayal and Pico.*

The date of the supposed discovery of America, by Behaim, is placed by M. Otto, in 1484, eight years before the celebrated voyage of Columbus. In the same year we are told† that Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva was driven by a storm to the westward for twenty nine days; and saw an island, of which at his return he gave information to Columbus. From both these supposed discoveries this conclusion is drawn, "That Columbus would never have thought of this expedition to America, had not Behaim gone there before him." Whether it be supposed that Behaim and Sanchez sailed in the same ship, or that they made a discovery of two different parts of America, in the same year, it is not easy to understand from the authorities produced; but what

* Forster's history of voyages and discoveries, p. 257, 258, 259.

† Garcilasso de la Vega's Royal commentaries. Preface. Purchas. vol. v, p. 1454.

what destroys the credibility of this plausible tale, is, that Columbus had formed his theory, and projected his voyage, at least ten years before; as appears by his correspondence with Paul, a learned physician of Florence, which bears date in 1474.* It is uncertain at what time Columbus first made his application to the King of Portugal, to fit him out for a western voyage; but it is certain that after a negociation with him on the subject, and after he had found out the secret and unsuccessful attempt, which had been made to anticipate a discovery; he quitted that kingdom in disgust, and went into Spain, in the latter end of the year 1484. The authority of these facts is unquestioned; and from them it fully appears, that a prior discovery of America, by Behaim or Sanchez, made in 1484, could not have been the foundation of the enterprise of Columbus.

M. Otto speaks of letters written by Behaim in 1486, in the German language, and preserved in the "archives of Nuremberg" which support this claim to a prior discovery. As these letters are not produced, no certain opinion can be formed concerning them; but

* Life, chap. viii.

from the date of the letters, and from the voyages which Behaim actually performed in the two preceding years, we may with great probability suppose, that they related to the discovery of Congo, in Africa; to which Behaim has an uncontroverted claim.

I will now state the facts relative to this event, partly from the authorities cited by M. Otto; and partly from others.

Dr. Robertson places the discovery of Congo and Benin in 1483, and with him Dr. Forster agrees. The authors of the modern universal history* speak of two voyages to that coast; the first in 1484, the second in 1485; both of which were made by Diego Cam,† who is said to have been one of the most expert sailors and of an enterprising genius: From the chronicle of Hartman Schedl, as quoted by M. Otto, we are informed, that Behaim sailed with Cam, in these voyages, which are described in the following terms. "These two, by the bounty of heaven, coasting along the southern ocean, and having crossed

* Vol. xvi. p. 183, 185.

† Diego is the Spanish name of James, in Latin Jacobus, and in Portuguese, Jago. Cam is in Latin, Camus or Canus, and in Spanish, Cano; these different names are found in different authors.

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crossed the equator, got into the other hemisphere; where, *facing to the eastward*, their shadows projected toward the south, and right hand." No words could be more completely descriptive of a voyage from Portugal to Congo, as any person may be satisfied by inspecting a map of Africa; but how could M. Otto imagine that the discovery of America was accomplished in such a voyage as this? "Having finished this cruize (continues Schedl) in the space of 26 months, they returned to Portugal, with the loss of many of their seamen, by the violence of the climate." This latter circumstance also agrees very well with the climate of the African coast;* but Schedl says not a word of the discovery of America.

M. Otto goes on to tell us "that the most positive proof of the great services rendered to the crown of Portugal by Behaim, is the recompense bestowed on him by King John II; who, in the most solemn manner, knighted him, in the presence of all his court." Then follows a particular detail of the ceremony of installation, as performed on the 18th of February, 1485, and M. Otto fairly owns that this was "a reward for the discovery of Congo."

* See Brookes' Gazetteer, *Benin*.

gul? Now let us bring the detached parts of this story together.

Behaim was knighted on the 18th of February, 1485, for the discovery of Congo, in which he had been employed 26 months preceding; having within that time made two voyages thither, in company with Diego Cam. It will follow then that the whole of the preceding years, 1484 and 1483, were taken up in these two voyages. This agrees very well with the accounts of the discovery of Congo, in Robertson and Forster, and does not disagree with the modern universal history, as far as the year 1484 is concerned; which unfortunately is the year assigned for Behaim's discovery of "that part of America called Brasil, and his sailing even to the straits of Magellan."

The only thing in M. Otto's memoir which bears any resemblance to a solution of this difficulty is this. "We may suppose that Behaim, engaged in an expedition to Congo, was driven by the winds to Fernambuco, and from thence by the currents towards the coast of Guiana." But suppositions without proof will avail little; and suppositions against proof will avail nothing. The

two

two voyages to Congo are admitted. The course is described; and the time is determined; and both these are directly opposed to the supposition of his being driven by winds and currents to America. For if he had been driven out of his course and had spent "several years in examining the American islands, and discovering the strait which bears the name of Magellan;" and if one of those years was the year 1484, then he could not have spent 26 months preceding February, 1485, in the discovery of Congo; but of this we have full and satisfactory evidence; the discovery of America therefore must be given up.

There is one thing further in this memoir which deserves a particular remark, and that is the reason assigned by M. Otto, for which the King of Portugal declined the proposal of Columbus to sail to India by the west. "The refusal of John II. is a proof of the knowledge which that politic prince had *already* procured, of the existence of a new continent, which offered him only barren lands, inhabited by unconquerable savages." This knowledge is supposed to have been derived from the discoveries made by Behaim. But, not to urge again the chronological difficulty with

which

which this conjecture is embarrassed, I will take notice of two circumstances in the life of Columbus, which Anilitate with this idea. The first is, that when Columbus had proposed a western voyage to King John, and he declined it, "The King, by the advice of one Doctor Calzadilla, resolved to send a caravel privately, to attempt that which Columbus had proposed to him; because in case those countries were so discovered, he thought himself not obliged to bestow any great reward. Having speedily equipped a caravel, which was to carry supplies to the islands of Cabo Verde, he sent it that way which the Admiral proposed to go. But those whom he sent wanted the knowledge, constancy and spirit of the Admiral. After wandering many days upon the sea, they turned back to the islands of Cabo Verde, laughing at the undertaking, and saying it was *impossible there should be any land in those seas.*"*

Afterward, "the King being sensible how faulty they were whom he had sent with the caravel, had a mind to restore the Admiral to his favour, and desired that he should renew the discourse of his enterprize; but not being so

* Life of Columbus, chap. xi.

so diligent to put this in execution, as the Admiral was in getting away, he lost this good opportunity; the Admiral, about the end of the year 1484, stole away privately out of Portugal for fear of being stopped by the King." This account does not agree with the supposition of a prior discovery.

The other circumstance is an interview which Columbus had with the people of Lisbon, and the King of Portugal, on his return from his first voyage. For it so happened that Columbus on his return was by force of weather obliged to take shelter in the port of Lisbon; and as soon as it was known that he had come from the Indies, "the people thronged to see the natives whom he had brought and hear the news; so that the navel would not contain them. Some of them praising God for so great a happiness; others storming *that they had lost the discovery through their King's incredulity*."

When the King sent for Columbus, "he was doubtful what to do; but to take off all suspicion that he came *from his conquests*, he consented." At the interview, "the King offered him all that he stood in need of, for the service of their Catholic Majesties, though

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he thought, that forasmuch as he had been *Captain in Portugal*, that conquest belonged to him. To which the Admiral answered, that he knew of no such agreement, and that he had strictly observed his orders, which were *not to go to the mines of Portugal*, [the gold coast], nor to Guinea."* Had John II. heard of Behaim's voyage to a western continent, would he not have claimed it by priority of discovery, rather than by the commission which Columbus had formerly borne in his service? Had such a prior discovery been made, could it have been concealed from the people of Lisbon? And would they have been angry that their King had lost it by his incredulity? These circumstances appear to me to carry sufficient evidence, that *no* discovery of America prior to that of Columbus had come to the knowledge of the King of Portugal.

In answer to the question "Why are we searching the archives of an imperial city for the causes of an event, which took place in the western extremity of Europe?" M. Otto gives us to understand, that "from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the Germans were

* Life, chap. xli.

were the best geographers, the best historians and the most enlightened politicians. Not to detract from the merit of the German literati of those ages, I think we may give equal credit to a learned German author of the present age, Dr. John Reinhold Forster; who appears to have a thorough understanding of the claims not only of his own countrymen, but of others. In his indefatigable researches into the discoveries which have been made by all nations, though he has given due credit to the adventures of Behaim in Congo and Fayal, yet he has not said one word of his visiting America; which he certainly would have done, if in his opinion there had been any foundation for it.

LETTERS from PAUL, a Physician of *Florence*, to CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, concerning the Discovery of the *Indies*.

LETTER I.

To CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, PAUL *the Physician wisheth health.*

I PERCEIVE your noble and earnest desire to sail to those parts where the spice is produced; and therefore in answer to a letter

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of yours, I send you another letter, which some days since I wrote to a friend of mine, and servant to the King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in answer to another he wrote to me by his highness's order, upon this same account; and I send you another sea chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The copy of the letter is this.

To FERDINAND MARTINEZ, *canon of* Lisbon, PAUL *the Physician wisheth health.*

I AM very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most serene and magnificent King; and though I have very often discoursed concerning the *short* way there is from hence to the Indies, where the spice is produced, by sea, which I look upon to be shorter than that you take by the coast of Guinea; yet you now tell me that his highness would have me make out and demonstrate it, so as it may be understood and put in practice. Therefore, though I could better show it him with a globe in my hand, and make him sensible of the figure of the world; yet I have resolved to render it more easy and intelligible, to show this way upon a chart, such as are used in navigation; and therefore I send

one

one to his majesty, made and drawn with my own hand; wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the west, from Ireland in the north, to the farthest part of Guinea, with all the islands that lie in the way. Opposite to which western coast is described the beginning of the Indies, with the islands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole toward the equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many leagues you may sail, before you come to those places most fruitful in all sorts of spice, jewels and precious stones. Do not wonder if I term that country, where the spice grows, *west*, that product being generally ascribed to the east; because those who shall sail westward will always find those places in the west; and they that travel by land eastward will ever find those places in the east. The strait lines that die lengthways in the chart, shew the distance there is from west to east; the others cross them, shew the distance from north to south. I have also marked down in the said chart, several places in India, where ships might put in upon any storm, or contrary winds, or any other accident unforeseen.

Moreover to give you full information of all those places which you are very desirous to know;

know; you must understand, that none but traders live or reside in all those islands, and that there is as great number of ships and seafaring people with merchandise, as in any other part of the world; particularly in a most noble port called *Zaiton*, where there are every year a hundred large ships of pepper, loaded and unloaded, besides many other ships that take in other spice.

This country is mighty populous, and there are many provinces and kingdoms, and innumerable cities under the dominion of a prince called the *Kham*, which name signifies, King of Kings; who for the most part resides in the Province of *Gathay*. His predecessors were very desirous to have commerce and be in amity with Christians; and 200 years since, sent ambassadors to the Pope; desiring him to send them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but by reason of some obstacles the ambassadors met with, they returned back, without coming to Rome.

Besides, there came an ambassador to Pope Eugenius IV. who told him the great friendship there was between those princes, their people, and the Christians. I discoursed with him a long while upon the several matters of

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the grandeur of their royal structures, and of the greatness, length and breadth of their rivers. He told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded along the banks of the rivers; and that there were 200 cities upon one river only, with marble bridges over it, of a great length and breadth, and adorned with abundance of pillars. This country deserves as well as any other to be discovered; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but also gold, silver, all sorts of precious stones, and spices in abundance, which are not brought into our parts. And it is certain, that many wise men, philosophers, astrologers, and other persons skilled in all arts, and very ingenious, govern that mighty province, and command their armies.

From Lisbon directly westward, there are in the chart 26 spaces, each of which contains 250 miles, to the most noble and vast city of Quisay, which is 100 miles in compass, that is 35 leagues; in it there are ten marble bridges. The name signifies a heavenly city; of which, wonderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings

and the revennes. This ſpace abovementioned is almoſt the third part of the globe. This city is in the province of Mango, bordering on that of Cathay, where the King for the moſt part reſides.

From the iſland *Antilla*, which you call the ſeven cities, and *of which you have ſome knowledge*, to the moſt noble iſland of *Cipango* are ten ſpaces, which make 2500 miles, or 225 leagues; which iſland abounds in gold, pearls and precious ſtones; and you muſt underſtand, they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. So that for want of knowing the way, all theſe things are hidden and concealed, and yet may be gone to with ſafety.

Much more might be ſaid, but having told you what is moſt material, and you being wiſe and judicious, I am ſatisfied there is nothing of it, but what you underſtand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may ſerve to ſatisfy your curioſity, it being as much as the ſhortneſs of time and my buſineſs would permit me to ſay. So I remain moſt ready to ſatisfy and ſerve his highneſs to the utmoſt in all the commands he ſhall lay upon me.

Florence, June 25, 1474.

LETTER

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LETTER II.

To CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, PAUL *the Physician wisheth health.*

I RECEIVED your letters with the things you sent me, which I shall take as a great favour, and commend your noble and ardent desire of sailing from east to west, as it is marked out in the chart I sent you, which would demonstrate itself better in the form of a globe.

I am glad it is well understood, and that the voyage laid down is not only possible but true, certain, honourable, very advantageous and most glorious among all Christians. You cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by experience and practice, as I have had in great measure, and by the solid and true information of worthy and wise men, who have come from those parts to this court of Rome; and from merchants who have traded long in those parts and are persons of good reputation. So that when the said voyage is performed, it will be to powerful kingdoms, and to the most noble cities and provinces; rich and abounding in all things we stand in need of, particularly in all sorts of spice in great quantities, and store of jewels.

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This will moreover be grateful to those kings and princes, who are very desirous to converse and trade with Christians of these our countries, whether it be for some of them to become Christians, or else to have communication with the wise and ingenious men of these parts, as well in point of religion, as in all sciences, because of the extraordinary account they have of the kingdoms and government of these parts. For which reasons, and many more that might be alleged, I do not at all admire, that you who have a great heart, and all the Portuguese nation, which has ever had notable men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this voyage.

V. JOHN

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V. JOHN CABOT AND SEBASTIAN CABOT.

THE economical disposition of Henry VII, King of England, induced him to preserve tranquillity in his dominions, which greatly contributed to the increase of commerce and manufactures; and to bring thither merchants from all parts of Europe. The Lombards and the Venetians were remarkably numerous; the former of whom had a street in London appropriated to them and called by their name.*

Among the Venetians resident there at that time was JOHN CABOT, a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished mariner.† He had three sons, Lewis, SEBASTIAN and Sanctius,‡ all of whom he educated in the same manner. Lewis and Sanctius became eminent men, and settled, the one at Genoa, the other at Venice. Of Sebastian a farther account will be given.

The famous discovery made by Columbus caused great admiration and much discourse, in

* Forster's northern Voyages, p. 266.

† Campbell's Lives of Admirals. i, 336. ‡ Hakluyt. III, 7.

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in the court of Henry, and among the merchants of England. To find a way to India by the weſt, had long been a problem with men of ſcience as well as a deſideratum in the mercantile intereſt. The way was then ſuppoſed to be opened; and the ſpecimens of gold, which Columbus had brought home, excited the warmeſt deſire of purſuing that diſcovery.

Cabot, by his knowledge of the globe, ſuppoſed that a ſhorter way might be found from England to India, by the northweſt. Having communicated his project to the King, it was favourably received; and on the fifth of March 1496, a commiſſion was granted to "John Cabot, and his three ſons, their heirs and deputies, giving them liberty to ſail to all parts of eaſt, weſt, and north, under the royal banners, and enſigns; to diſcover countries of the *heathen*, unknown to *chriſtians*; to ſet up the King's banners there; to occupy and poſſeſs as his ſubjects, ſuch places as they could ſubdue; giving them the rule and juriſdiction of the ſame, to be holden on condition of paying to the King, as often as they ſhould arrive at Briſtol, (at which place only they were permitted to arrive) in wares and merchandiſe, one fifth part of all their gains;

with

with exemption from all cuſtoms and duties on ſuch merchandiſe as ſhould be brought from their diſcoveries."

After the granting of this commiſſion, the King gave orders for fitting out two caravels for the purpoſe of the diſcovery. Theſe were victualled at the public expenſe; and freighted by the merchants of London and Briſtol, with coarſe cloths and other articles of traffic. The whole company conſiſted of three hundred men.

With this equipment, in the beginning of May 1497,† John Cabot and his ſon Sebaſtian ſailed from Briſtol towards the northweſt, till they reached the latitude of 58°; where meeting with floating ice, and the weather being ſeverely cold, they altered their courſe to the ſouthweſt; not expecting to find any land, till they ſhould arrive at Cathay, the northern part of China, from whence they intended to paſs ſouthward to India.

On

† There is no good account of this voyage written by any contemporary author. It is therefore collected from ſeveral who have ſet down facts without much order or preciſion. To reconcile their contradictions, and deduce concluſions from what they have related, requires much trouble; and leaves an uncertainty with reſpect to particular circumſtances; though the principal facts are well aſcertained.

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On the 24th of June, very early in the morning, they were surprized with the sight of land; which, being the first that they had seen, they called *Prima Vista*. The description of it is given in these words. "The island which lieth out before the land, he called St. John, because it was discovered on the day of St. John, the Baptist. The inhabitants of this island wear beasts' skins. In their wars, they use bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soil is barren in some places and yieldeth little fruit; but is full of white bears and stags, far greater than ours. It yieldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seals and salmons. There are soles above a yard in length; but especially there is great abundance of that kind of fish which the savages call Bacalao. (Cod.) In the same island are hawks, and eagles, as black as ravens; also partridges. The inhabitants had great plenty of copper." †

This land is generally supposed to be some part of the island of Newfoundland; and Dr. Forster thinks that the name, *Prima Vista*, was afterward changed to *Bona Vista*, now the northern cape of Trinity bay, in Latitude 48°

50'.

† Hakluyt iii, 6. Purchas iv, 803.

gor. Peter Martyr's account is, that Cabot called this land, Bacalaos; and there is a small island off the south cape of Trinity bay, which bears that name. Mr. Prince, in his chronology, (citing Galvanus for an authority) says, that the land discovered by Cabot was in latitude 45°. If this were true, the first discovery was made on the peninsula of Nova Scotia; and as they coasted the land northward, they must have gone into the gulf of St. Lawrence, in pursuit of their northwest passage.

The best accounts of the voyage preserved by Hakluyt and Purchas, say nothing of the latitude of Prima Vista; but speak of their sailing northward after they had made the land, as far as 67°. Stowe, in his chronicle,† says it was on the "north side of Terra de Labrador." This course must have carried them far up the strait which separates Greenland from the continent of America.

Finding the land still stretching to the northward, and the weather very cold in the month of July; the men became uneasy, and the commanders found it necessary to return to Bacalaos. Having here refreshed themselves, they coasted the land southward till they

† Reign of Hen. vii. An. 14. p. 872.

they came into the same latitude with the straits of Gibraltar 36°, or according to some, no farther than 38°, when their provisions falling short, they returned to England; bringing three of the Savages as a present to the King. "They were clothed with the skins of beasts, and lived on raw flesh; but after two years, were seen in the King's court clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen."*

Nothing more is said of John Cabot, the father; and some historians ascribe the whole of this discovery to Sebastian only; but at the time of this voyage he could not have been more than twenty years old; when, though he might accompany his father, yet he was too young to undertake such an expedition himself. The voyage having produced no specimens of gold; and the King being engaged in a controversy with Scotland, no farther encouragement was given to the spirit of discovery.

After the King's death, Sebastian Cabot was invited to Spain, and was received in a respectful manner by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. In their service he sailed on a voyage

* Stowe Reign of Hen. vii, page 875, Anno Regni 18.

a voyage of discovery to the southern parts of the New Continent; and having visited the coast of Brasil, entered a great river to which he gave the name of Rio de la Plata. He sailed up this river one hundred and twenty leagues; and found it divided into many branches; the shores of which were inhabited by numerous people.

After this, he made other voyages, of which no particular memorials remain. He was honoured by Ferdinand, with a commission of Grand Pilot; and was one of the council of the Indies. His residence was in the city of Seville. His character was gentle, friendly and social. His employment was the drawing of charts; on which he delineated all the new discoveries made by himself and others. Peter Martyr speaks of him as his friend, with whom he loved familiarly to converse.*

In his advanced age, he returned to England, and resided at Bristol. By the favour of the Duke of Somerset, he was introduced to King Edward VI, who took great delight in his conversation, and settled on him a pension of £166. 13s. 4d. per annum for life.

* "*Familiarem habeo domi* CABOTUM *ipsum, et interdum contubernalem.*" Decad. iii, chap. vi.

life. He was appointed governor of a company of merchants, associated for the purpose of making discoveries of unknown countries.* This is a proof of the great esteem, in which he was held as a man of knowledge and experience in his profession. He had a strong persuasion that a passage might be found to China, by the northeast, and warmly patronised the attempt made by Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553 to explore the northern seas, for that purpose. There is still extant a complete set of instructions drawn and subscribed by Cabot, for the direction of the voyage to Cathay, which affords the clearest proof of his sagacity and penetration.† But though this, as well as all other attempts of the kind, proved ineffectual to the principal end in view, yet it was the means of opening a trade with Russia, which proved very beneficial to the company.

The last account which we have of Sebastian is, that in 1556, when the company were sending out a vessel called the Search-thrift, under the command of Stephen Burrough, for discovery, the Governor made a visit on board; which

* Hakluyt I. 268, III. 10. † Ibid I, 226.

which is thus related in the journal of the voyage as preserved by Hakluyt.*

"The 27th of April, being Monday, the Right Worshipful Sebastian Cabota came aboard our pinnace, at Gravesend; accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen; who, after they had viewed our pinnace, and tasted of such cheer as we could make them, went ashore, giving to our mariners right liberal rewards. The good old gentleman Master Cabota gave to the *poor* most liberal alms, wishing *them* to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the Search-thrift, our pinnace. And then at the sign of St. Christopher, he and his friends banqueted, and made me and them that were in the company great cheer; and for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he *entered into the dance himself*, among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God."

According to the calculation of his age by Dr. Campbell, he must at that time have been about eighty years old.

He

* Vol. i, p. 274.

He was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. By his ingenuity and industry, he enlarged the bounds of science and promoted the interest of the English nation. Dr. Campbell supposes it was he who first took notice of the variation of the magnetic needle.* It had been observed in the first voyage of Columbus to the West Indies; though probably Cabot might not have known it, till after he had made the same discovery.

* Lives of Admirals, i. 419.

VI. JAMES

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VI. JAMES CARTIER.

THOUGH the English did not prosecute the discovery made by the Cabots, nor avail themselves of the only advantages which it could have afforded them; yet their neighbours of Brittany,* Normandy and Biscay wisely pursued the track of those adventurers and took vast quantities of cod on the banks of Newfoundland.

In 1524, John Verazzani, a Florentine, in the service of France, ranged the coast of the new continent from Florida to Newfoundland, and gave it the name of *New France*. In a subsequent voyage he was cut to pieces and devoured by the savages.

It is remarkable that the three great European kingdoms Spain, England and France, made use of three Italians to conduct their discoveries: Columbus, a Genoese; Cabot, a Venetian; and Verazzani, a Florentine. This is a proof that among the Italians there were at that time persons superior in maritime knowledge to the other nations of Europe; though

* It is supposed that the island of Cape Breton took its name from the Bretons, the fishermen of Brittany.

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though the penurious spirit of those republics, their mutual jealousy and petty wars, made them overlook the benefits resulting from extensive enterprises, and leave the vast regions of the new world to be occupied by others.

The voyages of Verazzani having produced no addition to the revenue of France; all further attempts to perfect his discoveries were laid aside; but the fishery being found conducive to the commercial interest, it was at length conceived, that a plantation in the neighbourhood of the banks might be advantageous. This being represented to King Francis I. by Chabot the Admiral, JAMES CARTIER* of St. Malo, was commissioned to explore the country, with a view to find a place for a colony.†

On the 20th of April 1534, he sailed from St. Malo with two ships of sixty tons, and 122 men; and on the tenth of May came in sight of Bonavista, on the island of Newfoundland. But the ice which lay along the shore obliged him to go southward; and he entered a harbour to which he gave the name of St. Catharine;‡ where he waited for fair weather, and fitted his boats. As

* His name is sometimes written *Quartier*.

† Forster's northern voyages, p. 485.

‡ Called in some maps *Catalina*.

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As soon as the season would permit he sailed northward, and examined several harbours and islands, on the coast of Newfoundland; in one of which he found such a quantity of birds, that in half an hour, two boats were loaded with them; and after they had eaten as many as they could, five or six barrels full were salted for each ship. This place was called Bird Island.

Having passed Cape de Grat, the northern extremity of the land; he entered the straits of Bellisle and visited several harbours on the opposite coast of Labrador, one of which he called Cartier's Sound. The harbour is described as one of the best in the world; but the land is stigmatized as the place to which Cain was banished; no vegetation being produced among the rocks, but thorns and moss. Yet, bad as it was, there were inhabitants in it, who lived by catching seals, and seemed to be a wandering tribe.*

In circumnavigating the great island of Newfoundland, they found the weather in general cold; but when they had crossed the gulf in a southwesterly direction to the continent, they came into a deep bay, where the climate was

* Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 201—211.

was ſo warm, that they named it Baye de Chaleur, or the Bay of Heat. Here were ſeveral kinds of wild berries, roſes and meadows of graſs. In the freſh waters they caught ſalmon in great plenty.

Having ſearched in vain for a paſſage through the bay, they quitted it, and ſailed along the coaſt, eaſtward, till they came to the ſmaller bay of Gaſpè; where they ſought ſhelter from a tempeſt, and were detained twelve days in the month of July. In this place Cartier performed the ceremony of taking poſſeſſion for the King of France. A croſs of thirty feet high was erected on a point of land. On this croſs was ſuſpended a ſhield, with the arms of France and the words *Vive le Roy de France*. Before it, the people kneeled, uncovered; with their hands extended, and their eyes lifted toward heaven. The natives, who were preſent, beheld the ceremony at firſt with ſilent admiration; but after a while, an old man, clad in a bear's ſkin, made ſigns to them that the land was his, and that they ſhould not have it, without his leave. They then informed him by ſigns, that the croſs was intended only as a mark of direction, by which they might again find the port; and

they

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they promiſed to return the next year, and to bring iron and other commodities.

They thought it proper however to conciliate the old man's good will, by entertaining him on board the ſhip and making him ſeveral preſents; by which means, they ſo prevailed on him, that he permitted Cartier to carry two of his ſons, young men, to France, on the ſecurity of a promiſe that he would bring them back, at his return the next ſpring.

From Gaſpè, he ſailed ſo far into the Great River, afterward called St. Lawrence, as to diſcover land on the oppoſite ſide; but the weather being boiſterous, and the current ſetting againſt him, he thought it beſt to return to Newfoundland, and then to France; where he arrived ſafe in the harbour of St. Malo on the fifth of September.

The diſcoveries made in this voyage excited farther curioſity; and the Vice Admiral Melleraye repreſented Cartier's merits to the King, ſo favourably, as to procure for him a more ample equipment. Three ſhips, one of 120, one of 60 and one of 40 tons, were deſtined to perform another voyage, in the enſuing ſpring; and ſeveral young men of diſ-

tinction entered as volunteers, to ſeek adventures in the new world. When they were ready to ſail, the whole company, after the example of Columbus, went in proceſſion to church, on Whitſunday, where the Biſhop of St. Malo pronounced his bleſſing on them. They ſailed on the 19th of May 1535. Meeting with tempeſtuous weather, the ſhips were ſeparated; and did not join again, till Cartier in the largeſt ſhip arrived at Bird Iſland, where he again filled his boats with fowls, and on the 26th of July was joined by the other veſſels.

From Bird Iſland they purſued the ſame courſe as in the preceding ſummer; and having come into the gulf on the weſtern ſide of Newfoundland, gave it the name of St. Lawrence. Here they ſaw abundance of whales. Paſſing between the iſland of Aſumption (ſince called Anticoſti) and the northern ſhore, they ſailed up the great river, till they came to a branch on the northern ſide, which the young natives who were on board called Saguenay; the main river they told him would carry him to Hockelaga, the capital of the whole country.

After ſpending ſome time in exploring the northern coaſt, to find an opening to the northward;

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northward; in the beginning of September, he ſailed up the river and diſcovered ſeveral iſlands; one of which, from the multitude of filberts, he called Coudres; and another, from the vaſt quantity of grapes, he named Bacchus, (now Orleans.) This iſland was full of inhabitants who ſubſiſted by fiſhing.

When the ſhips had come to anchor between the N. W. ſide of the iſland and the main, Cartier went on ſhore with his two young Savages. The people of the country were at firſt afraid of them; but hearing the youths ſpeak to them in their own language, they became ſociable, and brought eels and other fiſh, with a quantity of Indian corn in ears, for the refreſhment of their new gueſts; in return for which, they were preſented with ſuch European baubles as were pleaſing to them.

The next day, Donacona, the prince of the place, came to viſit them, attended by twelve boats; but keeping ten of them at a diſtance, he approached with two only, containing ſixteen men. In the true ſpirit of hoſpitality, he made a ſpeech, accompanied with ſignificant geſtures, welcoming the French to his country and offering his ſervice to them. The

young ſavages, Taignoagni and Domagaia anſwered him, reporting all which they had ſeen in France, at which he appeared to be pleaſed. Then approaching the Captain, who held out his hand, he kiſſed it, and laid it round his own neck, in token of friendſhip. Cartier, on his part, entertained Donacona with bread and wine, and they parted mutually pleaſed.

The next day Cartier went up in his boat to find a harbour for his ſhips; the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced that it became neceſſary to ſecure them. At the weſt end of the iſle of Bacchus, he found "a goodly and pleaſant ſound, where is a little river and haven; about three fathom deep at high water." To this he gave the name of St. Croix, and determined there to lay up his ſhips.

Near this place was a village called Stadacona, of which Donacona was the Lord. It was environed with foreſt trees, ſome of which bore fruit; and under the trees, was a growth of wild hemp. As Cartier was returning to his ſhips, he had another ſpecimen of the hoſpitable manners of the natives. A company of people, of both ſexes, met him on the ſhore of the little river, ſinging and danc-

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ing up to their knees in water. In return for their courtesy, he gave them knives and beads; and they continued their music till he was beyond hearing it.

When Cartier had brought his ships to the harbour and secured them, he intimated his intention to pass in his boats up the river to Hochelaga. Donacona was loth to part with him; and invented several artifices to prevent his going thither. Among others, he contrived to dress three of his men in black and white skins, with horns on their heads and their faces besmeared with coal, to make them resemble infernal spirits. They were put into a canoe and passed by the ships; brandishing their horns and making an unintelligible harrangue. Donacona, with his people, pursued and took them, on which they fell down as if dead. They were carried ashore into the woods, and all the savages followed them. A long discourse ensued, and the conclusion of the farce was, that these demons had brought news from the God of Hochelaga, that his country was so full of snow and ice, that whoever should adventure thither would perish with the cold. The artifice afforded diversion to the French, but

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was too thin to deceive them. Cartier determined to proceed; and on the 19th of September, with his pinnace and two boats, began his voyage up the river to Hochelaga.

Among the woods on the margin of the river were many vines loaded with ripe grapes, than which nothing could be a more welcome sight to Frenchmen, though the fruit was not so delicious as they had been used to taste in their own country. Along the banks were many huts of the natives; who made signs of joy as they passed; presented them with fish; piloted them through narrow channels; carried them ashore on their backs, and helped them to get off their boats when aground. Some presented their children to them, and such as were of proper age were accepted.

The water at that time of the year being low, their passage was rendered difficult; but by the friendly assistance of the natives they surmounted the obstructions. On the 28th of September they passed the rapids between the islands in the upper part of the lake Angolême, (now called St. Peters) and on the second of October they arrived at the island of Hochelaga; where they had been expected, and preparations were made to give them a welcome

welcome reception. About a thousand persons came to meet them, singing and dancing, the men on one side, the women on the other, and the children in a distinct body. Presents of fish and other victuals were brought, and in return were given knives, beads and other trinkets. The Frenchmen lodged the first night in their boats, and the natives watched on the shore, dancing round their fires during the whole night.

The next morning Cartier, with twenty five of his company, went to visit the town, and were met on the way by a person of distinction, who bad them welcome. To him they gave two hatchets and two knives, and hung over his neck a cross which they taught him to kiss. As they proceeded, they passed through groves of oak, from which the acorns were fallen and lay thick on the ground. After this they came to fields of ripe corn, some of which was gathered. In the midst of these fields was situate the town of Hochelaga.

It was of a round form, encompassed with three lines of palisades, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders, and heaps of

of ſtones were laid in proper places for defence. In the town were about fifty long huts built with ſtakes and covered with bark. In the middle of each hut was a fire, round which were lodging places, floored with bark and covered with ſkins. In the upper part was a ſcaffold, on which they dried and preſerved their corn. To prepare it for eating, they pounded it in wooden mortars, and having mixed it with water, baked it on hot ſtones. Beſides corn they had beans, ſquaſhes and pumpkins. They dried their fiſh and preſerved them in troughs. Theſe people lived chiefly by tillage and fiſhing, and ſeldom went far from home. Thoſe on the lower parts of the river were more given to hunting, and conſidered the Lord of Hochelaga as their ſovereign, to whom they paid tribute.

When the new gueſts were conducted to an open ſquare in the centre of the town; the females came to them, rubbing their hands and faces, weeping with joy at their arrival, and bringing their children to be touched by the ſtrangers. They ſpread mats for them on the ground, whilſt the men ſeated themſelves in a large circle on the outſide. The King was then brought in a litter, on the

ſhoulders

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ſhoulders of ten men, and placed on a mat next to the French Captain. He was about fifty years old, and had no mark of diſtinction but a coronet made of porcupine's quills dyed red; which he took off and gave to the Captain, requeſting him to rub his arms and legs which were trembling with a palſy. Several perſons, blind, lame, and withered with age, were alſo brought to be touched; as if they ſuppoſed that their new gueſts were meſſengers from heaven inveſted with a power of healing diſeaſes. Cartier gratified them as well as he could, by laying his hands on them and repeating ſome devotional paſſages from a ſervice book, which he had in his pocket; accompanying his ejaculations with ſignificant geſtures, and lifting up his eyes to heaven. The natives attentively obſerved and imitated all his motions.

Having performed this ceremony, he deſired the men, women and children to arrange themſelves in ſeparate bodies. To the men he gave hatchets, to the women beads, and to the children rings. He then ordered his drums and trumpets to ſound, which highly pleaſed the company and ſet them to dancing.

Being

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Being desirous of ascending the hill, under which the town was built, the natives conducted them to the summit; where they were entertained with a most extensive and beautiful prospect of mountains, woods, islands and waters. They observed the course of the river above, and some falls of water in it; and the natives informed them that they might sail on it for three months; that it ran through two or three great lakes, beyond which was a sea of fresh water, to which they knew of no bounds; and that on the other side of the mountains there was another river which ran in a contrary direction to the southwest, through a country full of delicious fruits and free from snow and ice; that there was found such metal as the Captain's *silver* whistle and the haft of a dagger belonging to one of the company which was gilt with *gold*. Being shewn some copper, they pointed to the northward, and said it came from Saguenay. To this hill Cartier gave the name of *Montreal*, which it has ever since retained.

The visit being finished, the natives accompanied the French to their boats, carrying such as were weary on their shoulders. They were loth to part with their guests, and followed

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lowed them along the ſhore of the river to a conſiderable diſtance.

On the fourth of October, Cartier and his company departed from Hochelaga. In paſſing down the river they erected a croſs on the point of an iſland, which, with three others, lay in the mouth of a ſhallow river on the north ſide, called Fouetz. On the eleventh they arrived at the Port de St. Croix, and found that their companions had encloſed the ſhips with a paliſade and rampart, on which they had mounted cannon.

The next day Donacona invited them to his reſidence, where they were entertained with the uſual feſtivity and made the cuſtomary preſents. They obſerved that theſe people uſed the leaves of an herb [tobacco] which they preſerved in pouches made of ſkins and ſmoked in ſtone pipes. It was very offenſive to the French; but the natives valued it as contributing much to the preſervation of their health. Their houſes appeared to be well ſupplied with proviſions. Among other things which were new to the French, they obſerved the ſcalps of five men, ſpread and dried like parchment. Theſe were taken from their enemies the Toudamani, who came from

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the ſouth, and were continually at war with them.

Being determined to ſpend the winter among theſe friendly people, they traded with them for the proviſions which they could ſpare, and the river ſupplied them with fiſh till it was hard frozen.

In December the ſcurvy began to make its appearance among the natives, and Cartier prohibited all intercourſe with them; but it was not long before his own men were taken with it. It raged with uncontroled violence for above two months, and by the middle of February, out of one hundred and ten perſons, fifty were ſick at once, and eight or ten had died.

In this extremity Cartier appointed a day of ſolemn humiliation and prayer. A crucifix was placed on a tree, and as many as were able to walk went in proceſſion, through the ice and ſnow, ſinging the ſeven penitential pſalms and performing other devotional exerciſes. At the cloſe of the ſolemnity Cartier made a vow, that "if it would pleaſe God to permit him to return to France, he would go in pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemado." But it was neceſſary to watch as well as pray. To prevent

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vent the natives from knowing their weak and defenceleſs ſtate, he obliged all who were able, to make as much noiſe as poſſible with axes and hammers; and told the natives that his men were all buſily employed, and that he would not ſuffer any of them to go from the ſhips till their work was done. The ſhips were faſt frozen up from the middle of November to the middle of March; the ſnow was four feet deep, and higher than the ſides of the ſhips above the ice. The ſeverity of the winter exceeded all which they had ever experienced; the ſcurvy ſtill raged; twenty five men had fallen victims to it, and the others were ſo weak and low in ſpirits, that they deſpaired of ever ſeeing their native country.

In the depth of this diſtreſs and deſpondency, Cartier, who had eſcaped the diſeaſe, in walking one day on the ice, met ſome of the natives, among whom was Domagaia, one of the young men who had been with him to France and who then reſided with his countrymen at Stadacona. He had been ſick with the ſcurvy, his ſinews had been ſhrunk and his knees ſwollen, his teeth looſe, and his gums rotten; but he was then recovered,

and

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and told Cartier of a certain tree, the leaves and bark of which he had used as a remedy. Cartier expressed his wish to see the tree; telling him that *one* of his people had been affected with the same disorder. Two women were immediately dispatched, who brought ten or twelve branches, and showed him how to prepare the decoction; which was thus, "to boil the bark and the leaves; to drink of the liquor every other day; and to put the dregs on the legs of the sick."*

This remedy presently came into use, on board the ships, and its good effects were so surprising, that within one week they were completely healed of the scurvy; and some who had venereal complaints of long standing were also cured by the same means.

The severity of winter having continued four months without intermission, at the return

* This tree was called by the natives Ameda or Haneda. Mr. Hakluyt supposes it to have been the Sassafras; but as the leaves were used with the bark, in the winter, it must have been an evergreen. The dregs of the bark were also applied to the sore legs of the patient. From these circumstances I am inclined to think that it was the spruce pine (*pinus canadensis*) which is used in the same manner by the Indians, and such as have learned of them. Spruce beer is well known to be a powerful antiscorbutic; and the bark of this and of the white pine serves as a cataplasm for wounds and sores.

turn of the ſun, the ſeaſon became milder, and in April the ice began to break up. On the third of May, Cartier took poſſeſſion of the country by erecting a croſs, thirty five feet high, on which was hung a ſhield, bearing the arms of France, with this inſcription: FRANCISCUS *primus, Dei gratiâ,* FRANCORUM *Rex, regnat.*

The ſame day, being a day of feſtivity, the two young ſavages, Taignoagni and Domagaia, with Donacona the chief of the place, came on board the ſhips; and were partly prevailed on and partly conſtrained to accompany Cartier to France. A handſome preſent was made to the Family of Donacona, but it was with great reluctance that his friends parted with him; though Cartier promiſed to bring him again at the end of twelve months. On the ſixth of May they ſailed from the Port of St. Croix; and having touched at St. Peter's in Newfoundland, they arrived at St. Malo in France the ſixth of July 1536.

Whether Cartier performed his vow to God, the hiſtory does not tell us; certain it is, however, that he did not perform his promiſe to his paſſengers. The zeal for adventures of this kind began to abate. Neither gold nor

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silver were carried home. The advantages of the fur trade were not fully understood; and the prospect of benefit from cultivation in the short summer of that cold climate, was greatly overbalanced, by the length and severity of a Canadian winter. The natives had been so often told of the necessity of baptism in order to salvation, that on their arrival in France, they were at their own request baptized; but neither of them lived to see their native land again.

The report which Cartier brought home, of the fine country beyond the Lakes, had however made such an impression on the minds of some, that, at the end of four years, another expedition was projected. Francis de la Roche, Lord of Roberval, was commissioned by the King as his Lieutenant Governor in Canada and Hochelaga; and Cartier was appointed his pilot, with the command of five ships. When they were ready to sail, Roberval had not finished his preparations, and was therefore detained. The King's orders to Cartier being positive, he sailed from St. Malo on the 23d of May 1540.

The winds were adverse and the voyage tedious. The ships were scattered, and did not

arrive

arrive at the place of their destination till the 23d of August; when they came to the port of St. Croix in the river of Canada.

The first inquiry made by the natives was for their countrymen who had been carried away. The answer was, that Donacona was dead, and that the others had become great Lords, were married in France, and refused to return. Neither sorrow nor resentment were shown on this occasion; but a secret jealousy, which had long been working, received strength, from an answer so liable to suspicion.

The history of this voyage being imperfect, it is not possible to say, in what particular manner this jealousy operated. Cartier made another excursion, up the river; and pitched on a place about four leagues above St. Croix to lay up three of his vessels for the winter. The other two he sent back to France, to inform the King of what they had done; and that Roberval had not arrived.

At the new harbour, which he had chosen for his ships, was a small river, running in a serpentine course to the south. On the eastern side of its entrance was a high and steep cliff; on the top of which, they built a fort and called it Charleburg. Below, the ships

were drawn up and fortified, as they had been in the former winter which he spent here. Not far from the fort were some rocks containing chrystals, which they denominated diamonds; and on the shore were picked up certain specks of a yellow substance, which their imaginations refined into gold. Iron ore was found in abundance; and a kind of black slate, with veins of an apparent metallic substance.

In what manner they passed the winter, the defective accounts which we have do not inform us. In the spring of the following year, Cartier and his company having heard nothing of Roberval, and concluding that they were abandoned by their friends and exposed to perish in a climate the most severe, and among people whose conduct toward them was totally changed, determined to return to France. Accordingly having set sail, at the breaking up of the ice, they arrived in the harbour of St. John in Newfoundland, sometime in June, where they met Roberval, who, with three ships and two hundred persons, male and female, had sailed from Rochelle in April, and were on their way to establish a colony in Canada. Cartier went on board

Roberval's

Roberval's ship, and showed him the diamonds and gold which he had found; but told him that the hostile disposition of the natives had obliged him to quit the country; which however he represented to him as capable of profitable cultivation. Roberval ordered him to return to Canada; but Cartier privately sailed out of the harbour in the night and pursued his voyage to France.

Mortified and disappointed, Roberval continued some time longer at St. John's before he proceeded, and about the end of July arrived at the place which Cartier had quitted. There he erected a fort on a commanding eminence, and another at its foot; in which were deposited all the provision, ammunition, artillery, implements of husbandry and other materials for the intended colony.

In September, two vessels were sent back to France, to carry specimens of chrystal, and fetch provisions for the next year; the stores which they had brought being much reduced. By the help of the fish which they took in the river, and the game which they procured from the savages, and by well husbanding their provisions, they lingered out a tedious winter, having suffered much from

the scurvy, of which about fifty of them died. In addition to this distress, Roberval exercised such severity in his government, that one man was hanged, several were laid in irons, and some of both sexes underwent the discipline of the whip.

In April the ice began to break up; and on the fifth of June he proceeded up the river; leaving De Royeze, his Lieutenant, to command in his absence, with orders to embark for France, if he should not return by the middle of July.

As the account of the expedition ends here, we can only remark that the colony was broken up; and no farther attempt was made by the French to establish themselves in Canada, till after the expiration of half a century. The last account of Roberval is that, in 1549, he sailed with his brother on some voyage of discovery, and never returned.

In this first visit, which the natives of Canada received from the Europeans, we have a striking instance of their primitive manners. Suspecting no danger, and influenced by no fear, they embraced the stranger with unaffected joy. Their huts were open to receive him, their fires and furs to give warmth and

rest

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rest to his weary limbs; their food was shared with him or given in exchange for his trifles; they were ready with their simple medicines to heal his diseases and his wounds; they would wade through rivers and climb rocks and mountains to guide him in his way, and they would remember and requite his kindness more than it deserved.

Unhappily for them they set too high a value on their new guest. Imagining him to be of a heavenly origin, they were extravagant and unguarded in their first attachment, and from some specimens of his superiority, obvious to their senses, they expected more than ought ever to be expected from beings of the same species. But when the mistake was discovered, and the stranger whom they had adored, proved to be no more than human, having the same inferior desires and passions with themselves; especially when they found their confidence misplaced and their generous friendship ill requited; then the rage of jealousy extinguished the virtue of benevolence; and they struggled to rid themselves of him, as an enemy, whom they had received into their bosom as a friend.

On the other hand, it was too common for the European adventurer, to regard the man of nature as an inferior being; and whilst he availed himself of his strength and experience, to abuse his confidence, and repay his kindness with insult and injury; to stigmatize him as a heathen and a savage, and to bestow on him the epithets of deceitful, treacherous, and cruel; though he himself had first set the example of these detestable vices.

VII. FERDINANDO

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VII. FERDINANDO DE SOTO.

THE travels and transactions of this adventurer are of so little importance in the history of America, that I should not have thought them worthy of much notice, had it not been, that some gentlemen of ingenuity and learning, have had recourse to the expedition of this Spaniard as a means of solving the question respecting the mounds and fortifications, of a regular construction, which within a few years past have been discovered in the thickest shades of the American forest.* Though the opinion seems to have been candidly given up by one of the writers who attempted to defend it; yet, as what was published on the subject may have impressed some persons with an idea that these works were of European fabric, I shall briefly relate the history of Soto's march; and the difficulties which attend

* If the reader wishes to see a particular investigation of this hypothesis, he may consult the American Magazine, printed at New York, for December 1787, January and February 1788, and some subsequent numbers; compared with the Columbian Magazine, printed at Philadelphia, for September and November 1788.

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attend the supposition that he was the builder of any of these fortifications.

After the conquest of Mexico and Peru, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the inextinguishable thirst for gold, which had seized the Spanish adventurers, prompted them to search for that bewitching metal wherever there could be any prospect of finding it. Three unsuccessful attempts had been made in Florida, by Ponce, Gomez, and Narvaez; but because these adventurers did not penetrate the interior parts of the continent; FERDINANDO DE SOTO, Governour of Cuba, who had been a companion of the Pizarros in their Peruvian expedition, and had there amassed much wealth, projected a march into Florida, of which country he had the title of Adelantado, or President. He sailed from the Port of Havannah May 18, 1539, with nine vessels, six hundred men,* two hundred and thirteen horses, and a heard of swine, and arrived on the 30th of the same month in the bay of Espiritu Santo, on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida.

Being

* In Prince's Chronology it is said that Soto had 900 men, but he quotes Purchas for his authority, in whose book the number is "*six hundred.*"

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Being a soldier of fortune and determined on conquest, he immediately pitched his camp and secured it. A foraging party met with a few Indians who resisted them; two were killed, the others escaped, and reported to their countrymen that the *warriors of fire* had invaded their territories; upon which the smaller towns were deserted and the natives hid in the woods.

Having met with a Spaniard of the party of Narvaez, who had been wrecked on the coast, and had been twelve years a captive with the Indians, Soto made use of him as a messenger to them to inquire for gold and silver; and wherever he could receive any information respecting these precious metals thither he directed his march.

His manner of marching was this: The horsemen carried bags of corn and other provisions; the footmen marched by the side of the horses, and the swine were driven before them. When they first landed they had thirteen female swine, which in two years increased to several hundreds; the warmth of the climate being favourable to their propagation, and the forests yielding them a plenty of food.

The

The first summer and winter were spent in the peninsula of Florida, not far from the bay of Apalache; and in the beginning of the following spring, having sent back his vessels to Cuba for supplies, and left a part of his men at the port, where he expected the ships to return, he marched toward the north and east, in search of a place called Yupaha, where he had been informed there was gold.

In this march he crossed the river Altamaha and probably the Ogechee, and came, as he was informed, within two days journey of the bay of St. Helena, where the Spaniards had been several years before. In all this march he stand not more than a week in any one place.

He then set his face *northward*, and having passed a hilly country, came to a district called Chalaque, which is supposed to be the country now called Cherokee, on the upper branches of the river Savannah. Thence he turned *westward*, in search of a place called Chiaha, and in this route he crossed the Allegany ridge, and came to Chiaha, where his horses and men, being excessively fatigued, he rested thirty days. The horses fed in a meadow, and and the people lay under the trees, the weath-

er

or being very hot, and the natives in peace. This was in the months of May and June. During their abode there they heard of a country called Chiſca, where was copper and another metal of the ſame colour. This country lay *northward*, and a party was ſent with Indian guides to view it. Their report was, that the mountains were impaſſable, and Soto did not attempt to proceed any farther in that direction.

From a careſul inſpection of the maps in the American Atlas, I am inclined to think that the place where Soto croſſed the mountains was within the thirty fifth degree of latitude. In Deliſle's map, a village called Canaſaga, is laid down on the N. W. ſide of the Allegany (or as it is ſometimes called) the Apalachian ridge of mountains, in that latitude; and Chiaha is ſaid in Soto's journal to be five days weſtward from Canaſagua.

To aſcertain the ſituation of Chiaha we muſt obſerve that it is ſaid to be ſubject to the Lord of Coſa, which is ſituate on an eaſtern branch of the Mobille; and Soto's ſick men came *down* the river from Chiaha in boats. This river could be none but a branch of the Mobille; and his courſe was then

turned

turned toward the *south*. In this march he passed through Alibama, Talise, Tascalusa, names which are still known and marked on the maps, till he came to the town of Mavilla, which the French pronounced Mouville and Mabille. It was then a walled town, but the walls were of wood. The inhabitants had conceived a disgust to the Spaniards, which was augmented by an outrage committed on one of their Chiefs, and finally broke out in a severe conflict, in which two thousand of the innocent natives were slain, and many of the Spaniards killed and wounded, and the town was burnt. This was in the latter end of October.

It is probable that Soto intended to pass the winter in the neighbourhood of that village, if he could have kept on friendly terms with the Indians; for there he could have had a communication with Cuba. There he heard that the vessels which he had sent to Cuba for supplies were arrived at Ochus [Pensacola] where he had agreed to meet them; but he kept this information secret, because he had not yet made any discoveries which his Spanish friends would think worthy of regard. The country

about

about him was populous and hostile, and, being void of gold or silver, was not an object for him to possess at the risque of losing his army, of which above an hundred had already perished. He therefore, after staying twenty eight days for the recovery of his wounded, determined on a retreat.

In this retreat it has been supposed that he penetrated northward, beyond the Ohio. The truth is, that he began his march from Mavilla, a village near the mouth of the Mobille, on the 18th of November, and on the 17th of December arrived at Chicaça, an Indian village of twenty houses, where they remained till the next April.

The distance, the time, the nature of the country, the course and manner of the march, and the name of the village, all concur to determine this winter station of Soto to be a village of the *Chickesaw* Indians, situate on the upper part of the Yasou, a branch of the Mississippi, about eighty leagues northwestward from Mobille, and not less than one hundred and forty leagues, southwestward from the Muskingum, where the great fortifications, which gave rise to this inquiry, are found. From *Chicaça*, in the spring,

spring, he went westward, and crossed a river within the thirty fourth degree of latitude, which he called Rio Grande, and which is now known to be the Mississippi.

On the western side of the Mississippi, after rambling all summer, he spent the next winter, at a place called Autiamque, where he enclosed his camp with a wall of timber, the work of three days only. Within this enclosure he lodged safely during three months; and, in the succeeding spring, the extreme fatigue and anxiety which he had suffered, threw him into a fever, of which he died, May 21, 1542, at Guacoya. To prevent his death from being known to the Indians, his body was sunk in the middle of a river.

His Lieutenant, Louis de Moscosco, continued to ramble on the western side of the Mississippi, till the next summer; when worn with fatigue, disappointment, and loss of men, he built seven boats, called brigantines, on the Mississippi, in which, the shattered remnants, consisting of three hundred and eleven, returned to Cuba, in September 1543.*

The place where Soto died is said to have been on the bank of the Red river, a western branch

* Purchas, vol. v, p. 1532 to 1556.

branch of the Mississippi, in lat. 31°. The place where the remnant of his army built their vessels and embarked for Cuba is called in the journal Minaya. They were seventeen days in sailing down the river, and they computed the distance to be two hundred and fifty leagues.*

From this account, faithfully abridged from Purchas and compared with the best maps, I am fully persuaded that the whole country through which Soto travelled on the eastern side of the Mississippi is comprehended within Florida, Georgia and South Carolina; and that he never went farther northward than the 35th degree of latitude, which is distant two degrees southward from any part of the Ohio. The conclusion then is, that he could not have been the builder of those fortifications, still remaining in that part of the continent, which lies N. W. of the Ohio. Nor indeed can any works which he erected for the security of his camp be subsisting at this time; for the best of them were made of wood, and were intended to cover his men; and protect his horses and swine, only during one winter. The

* Mr. Prince, in his chronology, says 400, in figures; but Purchas, from whom he quotes, says "two hundred and fifty."

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The works which have so much excited curiosity and conjecture, are far more numerous, extensive and durable. They are found in various and distant places, in the interior part of the continent, on both sides of the Mississippi; on the Ohio and its branches; on James and Potowmack rivers in Virginia; in the country of the Six Nations, and on the shores of lake Erie; where they are exceedingly numerous.

The most obvious mode of solving the question respecting them, is by inquiry of the present natives. But the structures are too ancient for their tradition; the oldest and wisest men know nothing of their original. The form and materials of these works, indicate the existence of a race of men superior to the present race, in improvement, in design, and in that patience which must have accompanied the labour of erecting them.

Trees which have been found growing on them have been cut down, and, from indubitable marks, are known to have been upwards of three hundred years old; nor were these the first growth, upon them.

The mounds and ramparts are constructed of earth, and have acquired a firmness and solidity,

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idity, which render it probable that they are the work of some remote age and some other people; who had different ideas of convenience and were better acquainted with the arts of defence; and in fact, were much more numerous than the ancestry of those natives, of whom we or our fathers have had any knowledge.

It is to be hoped that the persons who now occupy and are cultivating the lands where these singular buildings are found, will preserve, as far as they are able, some, at least, of these monuments of unknown ages; that as they have long resisted the ravages of time, and may possibly baffle the researches of the present generation, they may subsist unimpaired as subjects of speculation to our posterity.

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VIII. HUMPHREY GILBERT.

AFTER the discovery of Newfoundland by the Cabots, the passion for adventure, among the English, met with many severe checks. But whilst one adventurer after another was returning home from an unsuccessful voyage, intended to penetrate unknown seas to China; foreigners were reaping the benefit of their partial discoveries.

Within the first forty years, we have no account of any attempt made by the English to prosecute the discovery of the new continent, except, that in 1536, two vessels containing one hundred and twenty persons, of whom thirty were gentlemen of education and character, under the conduct of "Master Hore of London" made a voyage to Newfoundland;* but they were so ill provided, and knew so little of the nature of the country, that they suffered the extremity of famine. For, notwithstanding the immense quantities of fish and fowl to be found on those coasts; they were reduced so low as to watch the nests of birds of prey and rob them of the fish which

* Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 130.

which they brought to feed their young. To collect this scanty supply, with a mixture of roots and herbs, the men dispersed themselves in the woods, until several of them were missing. It was at first thought that they were devoured by wild beasts; but it was found that they met with a more tragical fate; the stronger having killed the weaker and feasted on their flesh. In the midst of this distress, a French ship arriving with a supply of provisions, they took her by force, and returned to England; leaving to the Frenchmen their own smaller vessels, and dividing the provision between them. Complaint of this act of piracy was made to King HENRY VIII: who, knowing the miseries of the unfortunate crew, instead of punishing them, paid the damage out of his own coffers.

Within the succeeding forty years, the English had begun to make some advantage by the fishery; and in 1578, the state of it is thus described.* "There are about one hundred sail of Spaniards who come to take cod; who make it all wet, and dry it when they come home; besides twenty or thirty more, who come from Biscay to kill whales for train.

* Letter of Anthony Parkhurst to Richard Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 132.

These be better appointed for shipping and furniture of mariners than any other nation, save the English; who commonly are *Lords of the harbours.* As touching their tonnage, I think it may be near five or six thousand. Of Portugals, there are not above fifty sail, whose tonnage may amount to three thousand, and they make all wet. Of the French nation are about one hundred and fifty sail; the most of their shipping is very small, not past forty tons; among which some are great and reasonably well appointed; better than the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards; the burden of them may be about seven thousand. The English vessels have increased in four years from thirty to fifty sail. The trade which our nation hath to Iceland, maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations."

The next year [1579] Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, a patent for the discovering, occupying and peopling of "such remote, heathen and barbarous countries as were not actually possessed by any *Christian* people."* In consequence of this grant, many of his friends joined him, and preparations

* Hakluyt iii. 135. Forster, 292.

preparations were made for an expedition, which promised to be highly advantageous. But before the fleet was ready, some declined and retracted their engagements. Gilbert, with a few companions, sailed; but a violent storm, in which one of the ships foundered, caused him to return. This misfortune involved him in debt; and he had no way to satisfy the demands of his creditors, but by grants of land in America. By such means, the country was not likely to be peopled, nor the conditions of his patent fulfilled. He was obliged therefore to sell his estate before he could make another attempt; and, after long solicitation, being assisted by some friends, he set sail from Plymouth with five ships, carrying two hundred and sixty men, on the eleventh of June 1583; and on the eleventh of July arrived off the bay of St. John, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland.

Thirty six fishing vessels were then in the harbour, who refused him admittance. He prepared to enter by force of arms; but previously sent in his boat with his commission from Queen Elizabeth; on sight of which they submitted, and he sailed into the port.*

* Stith's history of Virginia, page 6.

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The intention of this voyage was to take formal possession of the island, and of the fishery on its banks, for the crown of England. This was done in the following manner:*

On Monday the fifth of August, Admiral Gilbert had his tent pitched on shore, in sight of all the shipping; and being attended by his own people, summoned the merchants and masters of vessels, both Englishmen and others, to be present at the ceremony. When they were all assembled, his commission was read, and interpreted to the foreigners. Then a turf and a twig were delivered to him, which he received with a hazle wand. Immediately, proclamation was made, that by virtue of his commission from the Queen, he took possession for the crown of England, of the harbour of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way round it.

He then published three laws, for the government of the territory. By the first, public worship was established according to the mode of the church of England. By the second, the uttering of any thing prejudicial to her Majesty's title was declared treason, according to the laws of England. By the third,

* Hakluyt iii, 151, 165.

third, the uttering of words, to the dishonour of her Majesty, was to be punished with the loss of ears and the confiscation of property.

The proclamation being finished, assent and obedience were signified by loud acclamations. A pillar was erected, bearing a plate of lead, on which the Queen's arms were engraven; and several of the merchants took grants of land, in fee farm, on which they might cure their fish, as they had done before.

A tax of provision, by her Majesty's authority, was levied on all the ships. This tax was readily paid; besides which, the Admiral received presents of wine, fruit, and other refreshments, chiefly from the Portuguese.

This formal possession, taken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in consequence of the discovery by the Cabots, is the foundation of the right and title of the crown of England to the territory of Newfoundland and to the fishery on its banks.

As far as the time would permit, a survey was made of the country; one principal object of which was the discovery of mines and minerals. The mineralogist was a Saxon, who is characterized as "honest and religious."

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This man brought to the Admiral first a specimen of iron, then a kind of ore, which, on the peril of his life, he protested to be silver. The Admiral enjoined secrecy, and sent it on board; intending to have it assayed, when they should get to sea.

The company being dispersed abroad, some were taken sick and died; some hid themselves in the woods, with an intention to go home, by the first opportunity; and others cut one of the vessels out of the harbour and carried her off.

On the twentieth of August, the Admiral, having collected as many of his men as could be found, and ordered one of his vessels to stay and take off the sick, set sail with three ships; the Delight, the Hind, and the Squirrel. He coasted along the southern part of the island, with a view to make Cape Breton and the Isle of Sable; on which last, he had heard that cattle and swine had been landed by the Portuguese, thirty years before.

Being entangled among shoals and involved in fogs, the Delight struck on a sand bank and was lost. Fourteen men only saved themselves in a boat; the loss of the Saxon refiner was particularly noted, and nothing farther

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was heard of the silver ore. This misfortune determined the Admiral to return to England, without attempting to make any farther discoveries, or to take possession of any other part of America. On his passage, he met with bad weather. The Squirrel frigate, in which Sir Humphrey sailed, was overloaded on her deck; but he persisted in taking his passage in her, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, in the Hind, who would have persuaded him to sail with them. From the circumstance of his returning from his first voyage without accomplishing its object, it had been reported that he was afraid of the sea; had he yielded to the solicitation of his friends, the stigma might have been indelible.

When the wind abated, and the vessels were near enough, the Admiral was seen constantly sitting in the stern with a book in his hand. On the ninth of September, he was seen for the last time; and was heard by the people in the Hind to say, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." In the following night, the lights of his ship suddenly disappeared. The people in the other vessel kept a good look out for him, during the remainder of the voyage. On the twenty second of September, they

they arrived, through much tempeſt and peril, at Falmouth. But nothing more was ſeen or heard of the Admiral.

Whilſt his zeal for the intereſt of the Crown, and the ſettlement of its American dominions, has been largely commended; he has been blamed for his temerity in laviſhing his own and other men's fortunes in the proſecution of his deſigns. This is not the only inſtance of a waſte of property in conſequence of ſanguine expectations; which, though ruinous to the firſt adventurers, has produced ſolid advantages to their ſucceſſors.

Dr. Forſter has a remark on one of the incidents of this voyage which is worthy of repetition and remembrance. "It is very clear (ſays he) in the inſtance of the Portugueſe having ſtocked the Iſle of Sable with domeſtic animals, that the diſcoverers of the new world were men of humanity; deſirous of providing for ſuch unfortunate people as might happen to be caſt away on thoſe coaſts. The falſe policy of modern times is callous and tyrannical, exporting dogs to devour them. Are theſe the happy conſequences of the ſo much boaſted enlightened ſtate of the preſent

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age, and refinement of manners peculiar to our time? Father of mercies, when will philanthropy again take up her abode in the breasts of men, of Christians and the rulers of this earth!"

IX. WALTER

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IX. WALTER RALEIGH, AND RICHARD GRENVILLE.

THE diſtinguiſhed figure, which the life of Sir Walter Raleigh makes in the hiſtory of England, renders unneceſſary any other account of him here, than what reſpects his adventures in America; and particularly in Virginia; of which colony he is acknowledged to have been the unfortunate founder.

He was half brother, by the mother's ſide, to Sir Humphry Gilbert, and was at the expenſe of fitting out one of the ſhips of his ſquadron. Notwithſtanding the unhappy fate of his brother, he perſiſted in his deſign of making a ſettlement in America. Being a favourite in the court of Queen Elizabeth, he obtained a patent, bearing date the 25th of March 1584, for the diſcovering and planting of any lands and countries which were not poſſeſſed by any *chriſtian* prince, or nation.

About the ſame time the Queen granted him another patent, to licenſe the vending of wine, throughout the kingdom; that by the profits thence ariſing he might be able to bear

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the expense of his intended plan of colonization. Further to strengthen his interest, he engaged the assistance of two wealthy kinsmen, Sir Richard Grenville and William Sanderson.* They provided two barks, and having well furnished them with men and provisions, put them under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, who sailed from the west of England, April 27, 1584.

They took the usual route by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies; the reason of which is thus expressed in the account of this voyage written by Barlow†, "because we doubted that the current of the bay of Mexico between the cape of Florida and Havanna had been of greater force than we afterwards found it to be."

Taking advantage of the Gulf stream, they approached the coast of Florida; and on the second of July came into shoal water; where the odoriferous smell of flowers indicated the land to be near, though not within sight. On the fourth they saw land; along which they sailed forty leagues before they found an entrance.

* Stith's Hist. of Virginia, p. 7.
† Hakluyt, iii, 246.

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trance. At the first opening, they cast anchor (July 13) and having devoutly given thanks to God, for their safe arrival on the coast, they went ashore in their boats, and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

The place where they landed was a sandy island, called Wococon,* about sixteen miles in length and six in breadth, full of cedars, pines, cypress, sassafras and other trees; among which were many vines loaded with grapes. In the woods they found deer and hares; and in the waters and marshes, various kinds of fowl; but no human creature was

* This island is generally supposed to be one of those which lie at the mouth of Albermarle sound, on the coast of North Carolina. Barlow, in his letter to Sir W. Raleigh, preserved by Hakluyt, says, that he, with seven others, went in a boat "*twenty miles* into the river Occam, and, *the evening following*, came to an island called Roanoke, distant from the harbour by which we entered, *seven leagues*; at the north end thereof was a village." Mr. Stith, who wrote the history of Virginia, and who acknowledges that he had not seen this letter in English but in a Latin translation, supposes, that the island Wococon must lie between cape Hatteras and cape Fear, and that the distance might be 30 leagues. But it appears from Barlow's letter that the boat went *in one day* and came in the evening to the north end of Roanoke; the distance is twice mentioned, once in miles and once in leagues. I see no reason therefore to admit Stith's conjecture in opposition to Barlow. Stith however appears to have been a very close and accurate inquirer, as far as his materials and opportunity permitted.

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was ſeen, till the third day; when a canoe, with three men, came along by the ſhore. One of them landed; and, without any fear or precaution, met the Europeans and addreſſed them in a friendly manner, in his own language. They carried him on board one of their veſſels; gave him a ſhirt and ſome other trifles, and regaled him with meat and wine. He then returned to his canoe; and with his companions went a fiſhing. When the canoe was filled, they brought the fiſh on ſhore and divided them into two heaps; making ſigns, that each of the veſſels ſhould take one.

The next day, ſeveral canoes came; in which were forty or fifty people, and among them was Granganimeo, brother of Wingina King of the country; who was confined at home by the wounds, which he had received in battle, with a neighbouring Prince. The manner of his approach was fearleſs and reſpectful. He left his boats at a diſtance; and came along the ſhore, accompanied by all his people, till he was abreaſt of the ſhips. Then advancing with four men only, who ſpread a mat on the ground, he ſat down on one end; and the four men on the other. When the Engliſh went on ſhore, armed, he beckoned

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to them to come and ſit by him; which they did, and he made ſigns of joy and friendſhip, ſtriking with his hand on his head and breaſt, and then on theirs, to ſhew that they were all one. None of his people ſpoke a word; and when the Engliſh offered them preſents, he took them all into his own poſſeſſion; making ſigns that they were his ſervants, and that all which they had, belonged to him.

After this interview, the natives came in great numbers and brought ſkins, coral, and materials for dyes; but when Granganimeo was preſent, none were permitted to trade, but himſelf and thoſe who had a piece of copper on their heads. Nothing pleaſed him ſo much as a tin plate, in which he made a hole and hung it over his breaſt, as a piece of defenſive armour. He ſupplied them every day with veniſon, fiſh, and fruits, and invited them to viſit him at his village, on the north end of an iſland called Roanoke.

This village conſiſted of nine houſes, built of cedar, and fortified with ſharp paliſades. When the Engliſh arrived there in their boat, Granganimeo was abſent; but his wife entertained them with the kindeſt hoſpitality, waſhed their feet and their clothes, order-

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ed their boat to be drawn aſhore and their oars to be ſecured; and then feaſted them with veniſon, fiſh, fruits, and homony.* Whilſt they were at ſupper, ſome of her men came in from hunting, with their bows and arrows in their hands; on which her gueſts began to miſtruſt danger; but ſhe ordered their bows to be taken from them, and their arrows to be broken; and then turned them out at the gate. The Engliſh however thought it moſt prudent to paſs the night in their boat, which they launched and laid at anchor. At this ſhe was much grieved; but, finding all her ſolicitations ineffectual, ſhe ordered the victuals in the pots to be put on board, with mats to cover the people from the rain; and appointed ſeveral perſons of both ſexes to keep guard on the beach during the whole night. Could there be a more engaging ſpecimen of generous hoſpitality?

Theſe people were characterized as "gentle, loving and faithful; void of guile and treachery; living after the manner of the golden age; caring only to feed themſelves, with ſuch food as the ſoil affordeth, and to defend

* Homony is made of Indian corn beaten in a mortar and ſeparated from the bran; then boiled either by itſelf or in the broth of meat.

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defend themselves from the cold, in their short winter."

No farther discovery was made of the country by these adventurers. From the natives they obtained some uncertain account of its geography, and of a ship which had been wrecked on the coast between twenty and thirty years before. They carried away two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo; and arrived in the west of England about the middle of September.*

The account of this discovery was so welcome to Queen Elizabeth, that she named the country *Virginia*; either in memory of her own virginity, or because it retained its virgin purity, and the people their primitive simplicity.

About this time Raleigh was elected knight of the shire, for his native county of Devon; and in the Parliament which was held in the succeeding winter, he caused a bill to be brought into the House of Commons to confirm his patent for the discovery of foreign countries. After much debate, the bill was carried through both houses, and received the royal assent. In addition to which, the Queen conferred on him the order of Knighthood.*

A second

* Stith, p. 11.

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A second expedition being resolved on, Sir Richard Grenville himself took the command, and with seven vessels, large and small, sailed from Plymouth, on the ninth of April, 1585.† They went in the usual course by the Canaries and the West Indies; where they took two Spanish prizes; and, after narrowly escaping shipwreck on Cape Fear, arrived at Wococon the 26th of June.‡

The natives came, as before, to bid them welcome and to trade with them. Manteo, whom they had brought back, proved a faithful guide, and piloted them about from place to place. In an excursion of eight days with their boats, they visited several Indian villages, on the islands and on the main, adjoining to Albemarle Sound. At one place, called Aquascogok, an Indian stole from them a silver cup. Inquiry being made, the offender was detected and promised to restore it; but the promise being not speedily performed, a hasty and severe revenge was taken, by the orders of Grenville; the town was burnt and the corn destroyed in the fields, (July 16) whilst

† Hakluyt, iii. 251.

‡ Mr. Stith mistakes in saying *May* 26, and Sir William Keith, who copies from him, adopts the same mistake.

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whilst the affrighted people fled to the woods for safety. From this ill judged act of violence, may be dated the misfortunes and failure of this colony.

Leaving one hundred and eight persons to attempt a settlement, Grenville proceeded with his fleet to the island of Hatteras; where he received a visit from Granganimeo, and then sailed for England. On the 18th of September he arrived at Plymouth; with a rich Spanish prize which he had taken on the passage.

Of the colony left in Virginia, Ralph Lane was appointed Governor. He was a military man, of considerable reputation in the sea-service. Philip Amadas, who had commanded in the first voyage, was Admiral. They chose the island of Roanoke in the mouth of Albemarle Sound, as the place of their residence; and their chief employment was to explore and survey the country, and describe the persons and manners of its inhabitants. For these purposes, Sir Walter Raleigh had sent John Withe, an ingenious painter; and Thomas Heriot, a skilful mathematician, and a man of curious observation: both of whom

performed

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performed their parts with fidelity and ſucceſs.*

The fartheſt diſcovery which they made to the ſouthward of Roanoke was Secotan, an Indian town between the rivers of Pamptico and Neus, diſtant eighty leagues. To the northward they went about forty leagues, to a nation called Cheſepeags, on a ſmall river now called Eliſabeth, which falls into Cheſepeag Bay, below Norfolk. To the weſtward they went up Albemarle Sound and Chowan river, about forty leagues, to a nation called Chowanogs; whoſe King, Menatonona, amuſed them with a ſtory of a copper mine and a pearl fiſhery; in ſearch of which they ſpent much time and ſo exhauſted their proviſions, that

* The drawings which Mr. Withe made were engraven and printed at Frankfort (1590,) by Theodore De Bry. They repreſent the perſons and habits of the natives, their employments, diverſions and ſuperſtitions. From theſe, the prints in Beverley's hiſtory of Virginia are copied.

Mr. Heriot wrote a topographical deſcription of the country and its natural hiſtory, which is preſerved in Hakluyt's collection vol. iii, 226. It was tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed by De Bry in his collection of voyages. It has been ſuppoſed that Raleigh himſelf came to Virginia with this colony. This is a miſtake, grounded on a miſtranſlation of a paſſage in Heriot's narrative. It is thus expreſſed in Engliſh "The actions of thoſe who have been by Sir Walter Raleigh *therein employed.*" Which is thus rendered in the Latin tranſlation, "qui generoſum D. Walterum Ralegh, *in eam regionem comitati ſunt.*" Stith, p. 22.

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that they were glad to eat their dogs before they returned to Roanoke.

During this excurſion, their friend Granganimeo died; and his brother Wingina diſcovered his hoſtile diſpoſition toward the colony. The return of Mr. Lane and his party, from their excurſion, gave a check to his malice for a while; but he ſecretly laid a plot for their deſtruction; which being betrayed to the Engliſh, they ſeized all the boats on the iſland. This brought on a ſkirmiſh, in which five or ſix Indians were killed, and the reſt fled to the woods. After much jealouſy and diſſimulation on both ſides, Wingina was drawn into a ſnare; and with eight of his men, fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the Engliſh.

In a few days after Wingina's death, Sir Francis Drake, who had been cruiſing againſt the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, and had received orders from the Queen to viſit this colony, arrived with his fleet on the coaſt; and by the unanimous deſire of the people, took them all off and carried them to England, where they arrived in July 1586.

Within a fortnight after the departure of this unfortunate colony, Sir Richard Grenville

arrived

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arrived with three ſhips for their relief. Finding their habitation abandoned, and being unable to gain any intelligence of them; he landed fifty men, on the iſland of Roanoke, plentifully ſupplied with proviſions for two years, and then returned to England.

The next year (1587) three ſhips were ſent, under the command of John White, who was appointed Governor of the colony, with twelve Counſellors. To them Raleigh gave a charter of incorporation for the city of Raleigh, which he ordered them to build on the river Cheſepeag, the northern extent of the diſcovery. After narrowly eſcaping ſhipwreck on Cape Fear, they arrived at Hatteras, on the 22d of July, and ſent a party to Roanoke to look for the ſecond colony of fifty men. They found no perſon living, and the bones of but one dead. The huts were ſtanding; but were overgrown with buſhes and weeds. In converſation with ſome of the natives, they were informed, that the colony had been deſtroyed by Wingina's people, in revenge of his death.

Mr. White endeavoured to renew a friendly intercourſe with thoſe natives; but their jealouſy rendered them implacable. He therefore

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fore went acroſs the water to the main with a party of twenty five men, and came ſuddenly on a company of friendly Indians, who were ſeated round a fire, one of whom they killed before they diſcovered the miſtake.

Two remarkable events are mentioned as happening at this time; one was the baptiſm of Manteo, the faithful Indian guide; the other was the birth of a female child, daughter of Ananias Dare, one of the Council; which, being the firſt child born in the colony, was named Virginia.

By this time (Auguſt 21) the ſhips had unloaded their ſtores and were preparing to return to England. It was evident that a farther ſupply was neceſſary, and that ſome perſon muſt go home to ſolicit it. A diſpute aroſe in the Council on this point, and after much altercation, it was determined, that the Governor was the moſt proper perſon, to be ſent on this errand. The whole colony joined in requeſting him to proceed, promiſing to take care of his intereſt in his abſence. With much reluctance he conſented, on their ſubſcribing a teſtimonial of his unwillingneſs to quit the plantation. He accordingly ſailed on the 27th of Auguſt, and arrived in England

the

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the following November. The nation was in a ſtate of alarm and apprehenſion on account of the war with Spain, and of the invincible armada, which had threatened it with an invaſion. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the Queen's Council of war, as were alſo Sir Richard Grenville and Mr. Lane. Their time was wholly taken up with public conſultations, and Governor White was obliged to wait, till the plan of operations againſt the enemy could be adjuſted and carried into execution.

The next ſpring, Raleigh and Grenville, who had the command of the militia in Cornwall, and were training them for the defence of the kingdom; being ſtrongly ſolicited by White, provided two ſmall barks, which ſailed from Biddeford on the 22d of April 1588. Theſe veſſels had commiſſions as ſhips of war, and being more intent on gain to themſelves, than relief to the colony, went in chace of prizes, and were both driven back by ſhips of ſuperior force, to the great mortification of their patron, and the ruin of his colony.

Theſe diſappointments were a ſource of vexation to Raleigh. He had expended forty thouſand pounds, of his own and other men's money,

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money, in purſuit of his favourite object; and his gains were yet to come. He therefore made an aſſignment of his patent (March 7, 1589) to Thomas Smith, and other merchants and adventurers, among whom was Governor White; with a donation of one hundred pounds, for the propagation of the Chriſtian religon in Virginia. Being thus diſengaged from the buſineſs of colonization; he had full ſcope for his martial genius, in the war with Spain.

His aſſignees were not ſo zealous in the proſecution of their buſineſs. It was not till the ſpring of 1590, that Governor White could return to his colony. Then, with three ſhips, he ſailed from Plymouth, and paſſing through the Weſt Indies, in queſt of Spaniſh prizes, he arrived at Hatteras on the 15th of Auguſt. From this place they obſerved a ſmoke ariſing on the iſland of Roanoke; which gave them ſome hope that the colony was there ſubſiſting; on their coming to the place, they found old trees and graſs burning, ofbut no human being. On a poſt of one of the houſes they ſaw the word *Croatan*, which gave them ſome hope, that at the iſland of that name they ſhould find their friends.

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friends. They ſailed for that iſland; which lay ſouthward of Hatteras; but a violent ſtorm ariſing, in which they loſt their anchors, they were obliged to quit the inhoſpitable coaſt and return home; nor was any thing afterward heard of the unfortunate colony.

The next year (1591) Sir Richard Grenville was mortally wounded in an engagement with a Spaniſh fleet; and died on board the Admiral's ſhip, where he was priſoner.

Raleigh, though diſengaged from the buſineſs of colonizing Virginia, ſent five times at his own expenſe to ſeek for and relieve his friends; but the perſons whom he employed, having more profitable buſineſs in the Weſt Indies, either went not to the place, or were forced from it by ſtreſs of weather; it being a tempeſtuous region, and without any ſafe harbour. The laſt attempt which he made, was in 1602; the year before his impriſonment; an event which gratified the malice of his enemies, and prepared the way for his death; which was much leſs ignominious to him than to his ſovereign, King James I, the Britiſh Solomon; ſucceſſor to Elizabeth, the Britiſh Deborah.*

This

* As a ſpecimen of the language of that time, let the reader take the following extract from Purchas.

"He

This unfortunate attempt to ſettle a colony in Virginia, was productive of one thing which will always render it memorable, the introduction of *tobacco* into England. Cartier, in his viſit to Canada, fifty years before, had obſerved that the natives uſed this weed fumigation, but it was an object of diſguſt to Frenchmen. Ralph Lane, at his return in 1586, brought it firſt into Europe; and Raleigh, who was a man of gaiety and faſhion, not only learned the uſe of it himſelf, but introduced it into the polite circles; and even the Queen herſelf gave encouragement to it. Some humourous ſtories reſpecting it are ſtill remembered. Raleigh laid a wager with the Queen, that he would determine exactly, the weight of ſmoke which iſſued from his pipe. This he did by firſt weighing the tobacco and then the aſhes. When the Queen paid the wager, ſhe pleaſantly obſerved, that many labourers had turned their gold into ſmoke; but that he was the firſt who had converted ſmoke into gold.

It

"He [i. e. King James] is beyond compariſon a meer tranſcendent, beyond all his predeceſſors, princes of this realm; beyond the neigbouring princes of his own time; beyond the conceit of ſubjects dazzled with ſo much brightneſs; beyond our victorious *Deborah*, not in ſex alone, but as peace is more excellent than war, and *Solomon* than David; in this alſo that he *is*, and we enjoy his preſent ſunſhine."

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It is alſo related that a ſervant of Sir Walter, bringing a tankard of ale into his ſtudy as he was ſmoking his pipe, and reading, was ſo alarmed at the appearance of ſmoke, iſſuing out of his mouth, that he threw the ale into his face, and ran down to alarm the family, crying out that his maſter was on fire.

King James had ſo *refined* a taſte, that he not only held this Indian weed in great abhorrence himſelf, but endeavoured, by proclamations and otherwiſe, to prevent the uſe of it among his ſubjects. But all his zeal and authority could not ſuppreſs it. Since his time it has become an important article of commerce, by which individuals in Europe and America, as well as colonies and nations, have riſen to great opulence.

X. JOHN

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X. JOHN DE FUCA.

WHEN the existence of a western continent was known to the maritime nations of Europe, one great object of their inquiry was, to find, through some openings which appeared in it, a passage to India and China. For this purpose several expensive and unsuccessful voyages were made; and every hint which could throw any light on the subject was eagerly sought and attended to, by those who considered its importance.

JOHN DE FUCA was a Greek, born in the island of Cephalonia in the Adriatic gulf. He had been employed in the service of Spain, in the West Indies, as a mariner and pilot, above forty years. Having lost his fortune, amounting (as he said) to sixty thousand ducats, when the Acapulco ship was taken, by Captain Cavendish an Englishman; and being disappointed of the recompense which he had expected from the court of Spain; he returned in disgust, to his native country, by the way of Italy; that he might spend the evening of his life, in peace and poverty, among his friends.

At

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At Florence he met with John Douglas, an Engliſhman, and went with him to Venice. There, Douglas introduced him to Michael Lock, who had been Conſul of the Turkey company at Aleppo, and was then occaſionally reſident in Venice. (A. D. 1596.)

In converſation with Mr. Lock, De Fuca gave him the following account of his adventures.

"That he had been ſent by the Viceroy of Mexico, as pilot of three ſmall veſſels, to diſcover the ſtraits of Anian, on the weſtern coaſt of America; through which, it was conjectured that a paſſage might be found, into ſome of the deep bays on the eaſtern ſide of the continent. This voyage was fruſtrated, by the miſconduct of the commander, and the mutiny of the ſeamen.

"In 1592 the Viceroy ſent him again, with the command of a caravel and a pinnace, on the ſame enterprize. Between the latitudes of 47° and 48° N. he diſcovered an inlet, into which he entered and ſailed more than twenty days. At the entrance was a great headland, with an exceeding high pinnacle or ſpired rock, like a pillar. Within the ſtrait, the land ſtretched N.W. and N.E. and alſo E. and S.E. It was

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much wider within, than at the entrance, and contained many islands. The inhabitants were clad in the skins of beasts. The land appeared to be fertile like that of New Spain, and was rich in gold and silver.

"Supposing that he had accomplished the intention of the voyage and penetrated into the North Sea; but not being strong enough, to resist the force of the numerous savages, who appeared on the shores; he returned to Acapulco, before the expiration of the year."

Such was the account given by De Fuca; and Mr. Lock was so impressed with the sincerity of the relation and the advantages which his countrymen might derive from a knowledge of this strait; that he earnestly urged him to enter into the service of Queen Elizabeth, and perfect the discovery. He succeeded so far, as to obtain a promise from the Greek, though sixty years old; that if the Queen would furnish him with one ship, of forty tons, and a pinnace, he would undertake the voyage. He was the more easily persuaded to this, by a hope that the Queen would make him some recompence for the loss of his fortune by Capt. Cavendish.

Mr.

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Mr. Lock wrote to the Lord Treasurer Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Hakluyt, requesting that they would forward the scheme, and that one hundred pounds might be advanced to bring De Fuca to England. The scheme was approved; but the money was not advanced. Lock was so much engaged in it, that he would have sent him to England at his own expense; but he was then endeavouring to recover at law, his demands from the Turkey company, and could not disburse the money. The pilot therefore returned to Cephalonia; and Lock kept up a correspondence with him, till 1602, when he heard of his death.

Though this account, preserved by Purchas,* bears sufficient marks of authenticity; yet it has been rejected as fabulous for nearly two centuries; and is treated so even by the very candid Dr. Forster.† Recent voyages however, have established the existence of the strait; and De Fuca is no longer to be considered as an impostor; though the gold and silver in his account were but conjectural.

The strait which now bears his name is formed by land, which is supposed to be the continent

* Lib. iv, chap. xx, p. 849.

† Northern voyages, p. 451.

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continent of America on one ſide; and by a very extenſive cluſter of iſlands on the other. Its ſouthern entrance lies in lat. 48° 20′ N. long. 124° W. from Greenwich, and is about ſeven leagues wide. On the larboard ſide, which is compoſed of iſlands, the land is very mountainous; riſing abruptly in high and ſharp peaks. On the ſtarboard ſide, is a point of land terminating in a remarkably tall rock, called the pillar. Within the entrance, the paſſage grows wider, extending to the S. E. N. and N. W. and is full of iſlands. On the E. and N. E. at a great diſtance are ſeen the tops of mountains; ſuppoſed to be on the continent; but the ſhips trading for furs have not penetrated far to the eaſtward; the ſea otters being their principal object, and the land furs of ſmall conſideration. For this reaſon, the eaſtern boundary of the inland ſea is not yet fully explored. The ſtrait turns to the N. and N. W. encompaſſing a large cluſter of iſlands, among which is ſituate Nootka Sound, and comes into the Pacific ocean again in lat. 51° 15′, long. 128° 40′. This extremity of the ſtrait is called its northern entrance, and is wider than the ſouthern.

Another

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Another ſtrait has been lately ſeen which is ſuppoſed to be that of De Fonte, a Spaniſh Admiral, diſcovered in 1640; the exiſtence of which has alſo been treated as fabulous. The cluſter of iſlands, called by the Britiſh ſeamen Queen Charlotte's, and by the Americans, Waſhington's iſlands, are in the very ſpot where De Fonte placed the Archipelago of St. Lazarus.* The entrance only of this ſtrait has been viſited by the fur ſhips. It lies in lat. 54° 35′ and long. 131° W.†

Theſe recent and well eſtabliſhed facts may induce us, to treat the relations of former voyages with decent reſpect. The circumnavigation of Africa by the ancient Phenicians, was for ſeveral ages deemed fabulous by the learned Greeks and Romans. But its credibility was fully eſtabliſhed by the Portugueſe diſcoveries in the fifteenth century. In like manner the diſcoveries of De Fuca and De Fonte

* See the Critical Review, January, 1791.

† For this information I am indebted to Captain ROBERT GRAY; who has the laſt ſummer, (1793) returned from a ſecond circumnavigation of the globe in the ſhip Columbia of Boſton. He has ſailed quite through the ſtrait of De Fuca; and ſeen the entrance of that of De Fonte. The latitudes and longitudes of theſe places are taken from a very neat and accurate map of the N. W. coaſt of America, drawn by Mr. HASWELL, firſt Mate of the Columbia in her late voyage.

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Fonte which have long been ſtigmatized by geographers as *pretended*, and marked in their maps as *imaginary*, are now known to have been founded in truth, though from the imperfection of inſtruments or the inaccuracy of hiſtorians, the degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude were not preciſely marked, and though ſome circumſtances in their accounts are but conjectural. Farther diſcoveries may throw new light on the ſubject, and though perhaps a N. W. paſſage, by ſea, from the Atlantic into the Pacific may not exiſt; yet bays, rivers and lakes are ſo frequent in thoſe northern regions of our continent that an inland navigation may be practicable.

It has been ſuggeſted that the company of Engliſh merchants who enjoy an excluſive trade to Hudſon's Bay have, from intereſted motives, concealed their knowledge of its weſtern extremities. Whether there be any juſt foundation for this cenſure, I do not pretend to determine; but a ſurvey is ſaid to be now making, from which, it is hoped, that this long conteſted queſtion of a N. W. paſſage will receive a full ſolution.

XI. BARTHOLOMEW

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XI. BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD.

THE unfortunate iſſue of Raleigh's attempt to make a ſettlement in America, together with the war with Spain, which continued for ſeveral years, gave a check to the ſpirit of colonizing. In the beginning of the ſeventeenth century it was revived by BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, an intrepid mariner in the weſt of England. At whoſe expenſe he undertook his voyage, to the northern part of Virginia, does not appear; but, on the 26th of March 1602, he ſailed from Falmouth, in Cornwall, in a ſmall bark, with thirty two men. Inſtead of going by the way of the Canaries and the Weſt Indies, he kept as far north as the winds would permit, and was the firſt Engliſhman who came in a direct courſe to this part of America.

On the 14th of May they made the land, and met with a ſhallop of European fabric, in which were eight ſavages, one of whom was dreſſed in European clothes; from which they concluded that ſome unfortunate fiſhermen of Biſcay or Brittany, had been wrecked on the coaſt.

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The next day they had again ſight of land, which appeared like an iſland, by reaſon of a large ſound which lay between it and the main. This ſound they called Shole Hope. Near this cape they took a great number of cod, from which circumſtance they named the land *Cape Cod*. It is deſcribed as a low ſandy ſhore in the latitude of 42°. The Captain went on ſhore and found the ſand very deep. A young Indian, with plates of copper hanging to his ears, and a bow and arrows in his hand, came to him, and in a friendly manner offered his ſervice.

On the 16th, they coaſted the land ſoutherly, and at the end of twelve leagues diſcovered a point, with breakers at a diſtance; and, in attempting to double it, came ſuddenly into ſhoal water. To this point of land they gave the name of Point Care; it is now called Sandy Point, and forms the ſoutheaſtern extremity of the county of Barnſtable, in Maſſachuſetts.

Finding themſelves ſurrounded by ſhoals and breakers, they lay at anchor till they had examined the coaſt and ſoundings in their boat; during which time ſome of the natives made them a viſit. One of them had a plate

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of copper over his breast, a foot in length and half a foot in breadth; the others had pendants of the same metal as their ears: they all had pipes and tobacco, of which they were very fond.

In surveying the coast they discovered breakers lying off a point of land, which they denominated Gilbert's Point; it is now called Point Gammon, and forms the eastern side of the harbour of Hyennes.

On the 19th they passed the breach of Gilbert's Point, in four and five fathoms of water, and anchored a league or more to the westward of it. Several hummocks and hills appeared, which at first were taken to be islands; these were the high lands of Barnstable and Yarmouth.

To the westward of Gilbert's Point, appeared an opening, which Gosnold imagined to have a communication with the supposed sound which he had seen westward of Cape Cod; he therefore gave it the same name Shole Hope; but finding the water to be no more than three fathoms deep, at the distance of a league, he did not attempt to enter it. From this opening, the land tended to the southwest; and, in coasting it, they came to

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an island to which they gave the name of *Martha's Vineyard.* This island is described as "distant eight leagues from Shole Hope, five miles in circuit, and uninhabited; full of wood, *vines* and berries: here they saw deer and took abundance of cod."

From their station off this island, where they rode in eight fathoms, they sailed on the 24th; and doubled the cape of another island, next to it, which they called Dover cliff: this course brought them into a sound, where they anchored for the night, and the next morning sent their boat to examine another cape, which lay between them and the main, from which projected a ledge of rocks, a mile into the sea, but all above water, and not dangerous. Having passed round them, they came to anchor again, in one of the finest sounds, which they had ever seen; and to which they gave the name of Gosnold's Hope. On the northern side of it was the main; and on the southern, parallel to it, at the distance of four leagues, was a large island which they called Elizabeth, in honor of their Queen. On this island they determined to take up their abode; and pitched upon a small woody islet in the middle of a fresh pond, as a safe

place

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place to build their fort. A little to the northward of this large island lay a small one half a mile in compass, and full of cedars. This they called Hill's Hap. On the opposite northern shore appeared another similar elevation to which they gave the name of Hap's Hill.

By this description of the coast it is evident that the sound into which Gosnold entered was Buzzard's Bay. The island which he called Martha's Vineyard, was not that which now goes by that name, but a small island, the easternmost of those which are known by the name of Elizabeth's islands. It is called by the Indians Nenimissett; its present circumference is about four miles, but it has doubtless been diminished since Gosnold's time, by the force of the tides which set into and out of the bay with great rapidity. Its natural productions and pleasant situation answer well to his description; and deer are frequently seen and hunted upon it: but none were ever known to have been on the great island, now called Martha's Vineyard; which is above twenty miles in length and was always full of inhabitants. For what reason and at what time the name was transferred

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ferred from the one to the other, I have not yet learned.

The cliff named Dover is ſuppoſed to be the eaſtern head of a ſmall iſland which was called by the natives Onky Tonky, and is now corrupted into Uncle Timmy. The rocky ledge is called Rattleſnake Neck. Hill's Hap conſiſts now of two very ſmall iſlands called Wicpeckets. There is every appearance that theſe were formerly united; and there are now a few cedars on them. Hap's Hill, on the oppoſite part of the main, is a ſmall elevated iſland, of an oval form, near the mouth of a river which paſſes through the towns of Wareham and Rocheſter. It is a conſpicuous object to navigators.

The iſland on which Goſnold and his company took up their abode, is now called by its Indian name Nauſhaun, and is the property of the Honourable JAMES BOWDOIN, of Boſton, to whom I am indebted for theſe remarks on Goſnold's journal, which is extant at large in Purchas's collections.*

Near the ſouthweſt end of Nauſhaun is a large freſh pond; ſuch an one as anſwers to Goſnold's deſcription, excepting that there is no

* Vol. v, p. 1647.

no islet in the middle of it. The shore is sandy; but what revolution may have taken place within the space of almost two centuries past, we cannot say.

Whilst some of Gosnold's men laboured in building a fort and store house on the small island in the pond, and a flat boat to go to it; he crossed the bay in his vessel and discovered the mouths of two rivers: one was that near which lay Hap's Hill, and the other, that, on the shore of which the town of New-Bedford is now built.

After five days absence, Gosnold returned to the island and was received by his people with great ceremony; on account of an Indian chief and fifty of his men who were there on a visit. To this chief they presented a straw hat and two knives; the hat he little regarded; but the knives were highly valued. They feasted these savages with fish and mustard, and diverted themselves with the effect of the mustard on their noses. One of them stole a target, but it was restored. They did not appear to be inhabitants, but occasional visitants at the island, for the sake of gathering shell-fish. Four of them remained, after the others

were

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were gone, and helped the English to dig the roots of ſaſſafras; with which, as well as the furs which they bought of the Indians, the veſſel was loaded.

After ſpending three weeks in preparing a ſtore houſe, when they came to divide their proviſion, there was not enough to victual the ſhip, and to ſubſiſt the planters till the ſhip's return. Some jealouſy alſo aroſe about the intentions of thoſe who were going back; and after five days conſultation they determined to give up their deſign of planting, and return to England. On the eighteenth of June they ſailed out of the bay through the ſame paſſage by which they had entered it; and on the twenty third of July they arrived at Exmouth, in the weſt of England.

Goſnold's intention was to have remained with a part of his men, and to have ſent Gilbert, the ſecond in command, to England, for farther ſupplies; but half of ſo ſmall a company would not have been a ſufficient number to reſiſt the ſavages, had they been diſpoſed to attack them.

After his return to England he was indefatigable in his endeavours to forward the ſet-

tling

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ſettling of a colony in America, and was one of thoſe who embarked in the next expedition for Virginia, where he had the rank of a Counſellor, and where he died in the year 1607.

XII. JOHN

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XII. JOHN SMITH.

THOUGH the early part of the life of this extraordinary man was ſpent in foreign travels and adventures which have no reference to America; yet the incidents of that period ſo ſtrongly mark his character, and give ſuch a tincture to his ſubſequent actions, and are withal ſo ſingular in themſelves, that no reader (it is preſumed) will cenſure the introduction of them here as impertinent.

He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnſhire, in the year 1579.* From the firſt dawn of reaſon, he diſcovered a roving and romantic genius, and delighted in extravagant and daring actions among his ſchool fellows. When about thirteen years of age, he ſold his books and ſatchel, and his puerile trinkets, to raiſe

* This is determined by an inſcription annexed to his portrait on his map of New-England——"Ætat 37. Anno 1616."

This portrait repreſents him clad *in armour* and under it are theſe verſes:

"Such are the lines that ſhew thy face; but thoſe
That ſhew thy grace and glory brighter bee;
Thy faire diſcoveries and fowle overthrowes
Of ſalvages much civilized by thee,
Beſt ſhew thy ſpirit, and to it glory win,
So thou art *braſſe* without, but *golde* within."

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raiſe money, with a view to convey himſelf privately to ſea; but the death of his father put a ſtop for the preſent to this attempt, and threw him into the hands of guardians, who endeavoured to check the ardour of his genius, by confining him to a compting houſe. Being put apprentice to a merchant at Lynn, at the age of fifteen, he at firſt conceived hopes that his maſter would ſend him to ſea in his ſervice, but this hope failing, he quitted his maſter, and with only ten ſhillings in his pocket, entered into the train of a young nobleman who was travelling to France. At Orleans he was diſcharged from his attendance on lord Bertie, and had money given him to return to England. With this money he viſited Paris, and proceeded to the Low Countries, where he enliſted as a ſoldier, and learned the rudiments of war, a ſcience peculiarly agreeable to his ardent and active genius. Meeting with a Scots gentleman abroad, he was perſuad- to paſs into Scotland, with the promiſe of being ſtrongly recommended to King James; but being baffled in this expectation, he returned to his native town, and finding no company there which ſuited his taſte, he built a booth in a wood, and betook himſelf

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to the study of military history and tactics, diverting himself at intervals with his horse and lance; in which exercise he at length found a companion, an Italian gentleman rider to the earl of Lincoln, who drew him from his sylvan retirement to Tattersal.

Having recovered a part of the estate which his father had left him, he put himself into a better condition than before, and set off again on his travels, in the winter of the year 1596, being then only seventeen years of age. His first stage was Flanders, where meeting with a Frenchman who pretended to be heir to a noble family, he, with his three attendants, prevailed upon Smith to go with them to France. In a dark night they arrived at St. Valery in Picardy, and, by the connivance of the ship master, the Frenchmen were carried ashore with the trunks of our young traveller, whilst he was left on board till the return of the boat. In the mean time they had conveyed the baggage out of his reach, and were not to be found. A sailor on board, who knew the villains, generously undertook to conduct him to Mortaine where they lived, and supplied his wants till their arrival at the place. Here he found their friends, from whom he could gain no recompence; but the

report of his sufferings induced several persons of distinction to invite him to their houses.

Eager to pursue his travels, and not caring to receive favours which he was unable to requite, he left his new friends and went from port to port in search of a ship of war. In one of these rambles, near Dinan, it was his chance to meet one of the villains who had robbed him: Without speaking a word, they both drew; and Smith having wounded and disarmed his antagonist, obliged him to confess his guilt before a number of persons who had assembled on the occasion. Satisfied with his victory, he retired to the seat of an acquaintance, the earl of Ployer, who had been brought up in England, and having received supplies from him, he travelled along the French coast to Bayonne, and from thence crossed over to Marseilles; visiting and observing every thing in his way which had any reference to naval or military architecture.

At Marseilles he embarked for Italy, in company with a rabble of pilgrims. The ship was forced by a tempest into the harbour of Toulon, and afterward was obliged by a contrary wind to anchor under the little island of St. Mary, off Nice, in Savoy. The bigotry of the pilgrims made them ascribe

their ill fortune to the presence of a heretic on board. They devoutly cursed Smith, and his Queen Elizabeth, and in a fit of pious rage threw him into the sea. He swam to the island, and the next day was taken on board a ship of St. Malo which had also put in there for shelter. The master of the ship, who was well known to his noble friend the earl of Ployer, entertained him kindly, and carried him to Alexandria in Egypt; from thence he coasted the Levant; and on his return had the high satisfaction of a naval engagement with a Venetian ship, which they took and rifled of her rich cargo. Smith was set on shore at Antibes with a box of a thousand chequins, (about 2000 dollars) by the help of which he made the tour of Italy, crossed the Adriatic and travelled into Stiria, to the seat of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Here he met with an English and an Irish Jesuit who introduced him to lord Eberspaught, baron Kizel and other officers of distinction, and here he found full scope for his genius; for the emperor being then at war with the Turks, he entered into his army as a volunteer.

He

He had communicated to Eberſpaught a method of converſing at a diſtance by ſignals made with torches, which being alternately ſhown and hidden a certain number of times, deſignated every letter of the alphabet. He had ſoon after an opportunity of making the experiment. Eberſpaught being beſieged by the Turks in the ſtrong town of Olimpach, was cut off from all intelligence and hope of ſuccour from his friends. Smith propoſed his method of communication to baron Kizel, who approved it, and allowed him to put it in practice.* He was conveyed by a guard to a hill within view of the town, and ſufficiently remote from the Turkiſh camp. At the diſplay of the ſignal, Eberſpaught knew and anſwered it, and Smith conveyed to him this intelligence, "Thurſday night, I will charge on

* The method is this. Firſt, three torches are ſhown in a line equi-diſtant from each other, which are anſwered by three others in the ſame manner. Then the meſſage being written as briefly as poſſible, and the alphabet divided into two parts, the letters from A to L are ſignified by ſhowing and hiding *one* light, as often as there are letters from A to that letter, which you mean. The letters from M to Z by *two* lights in the ſame manner. The end of a word is ſignified by ſhowing *three* lights. At every letter, the light ſtands till the other party may write it down and anſwer by his ſignal, which is one light.

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on the East, at the alarm sally should. The answer was "I will." Just before the attack, by Smith's advice, a great number of false fires were made on another quarter, which divided the attention of the enemy, and gave advantage to the assailants; who, being assisted by a sally from the town, killed many of the Turks, drove others into the river, and threw succours into the place, which obliged the enemy the next day to raise the siege. This well conducted exploit, produced to our young adventurer, the command of a company, consisting of two hundred and fifty horsemen in the regiment of count Meldrick, a nobleman of Transylvania.

The regiment in which he served being engaged in several hazardous enterprizes, Smith was foremost in all dangers and distinguished himself both by his ingenuity and by his valour; and when Meldrick left the Imperial army, and passed into the service of his native prince, Smith followed him.

At the siege of Regal, the Ottomans derided the slow approaches of the Transylvanian army, and sent a challenge, purporting that the lord Turbisha, to divert the ladies, would fight any single Captain of the Christian troops,

The

The honour of accepting this challenge, being determined by lot, fell on Captain Smith, who, meeting his antagonist on horseback, within view of the ladies on the battlements, at the sound of music began the encounter, and in a short time killed him, and bore away his head in triumph to his general the lord Moyzes.

The death of the chief so irritated his friend Grualgo, that he sent a particular challenge to the conqueror, who, meeting him with the same ceremonies, after a smart combat, took off his head also. Smith then in his turn sent a message into the town, informing the ladies, that if they wished for more diversion, they should be welcome to his head, in case their third Champion could take it. This challenge was accepted by Bonamolgro, who unhorsed Smith and was near gaining the victory. But remounting in a critical moment, he gave the Turk a stroke with his faulchion which brought him to the ground, and his head was added to the number. For these singular exploits he was honoured with a military procession, consisting of six thousand men, three led horses, and the Turks' heads on the points of three lances. With this ce-

remony Smith was conducted to the pavilion of his general, who, after embracing him, presented him with a horse richly furnished, a scymitar and belt worth three hundred ducats, and a commission to be major in his regiment. The prince of Transylvania, after the capture of the place, made him a present of his picture set in gold, and a pension of three hundred ducats per annum, and moreover granted him a coat of arms bearing three Turks' heads in a shield. The patent was admitted and recorded in the college of Heralds in England, by Sir Henry Segar, garter king at arms. Smith was always proud of this distinguishing honour, and these arms are accordingly blazoned in the frontispiece to his history, with this motto,

"*Vincere est vivere.*"

After this, the Transylvanian army was defeated by a body of Turks and Tartars near Rotenton, and many brave men were slain, among whom were nine English and Scots officers, who, after the fashion of that day, had entered into this service, from a religious zeal to drive the Turks out of Christendom. Smith was wounded in this battle and lay among the dead. His habit discovered him

to

to the victors as a person of consequence; they used him well till his wounds were healed, and then sold him to the Basha Bogal, who sent him as a present to his mistress *Tragabigzanda* at Constantinople, accompanied with a message, as full of vanity as void of truth, that he had conquered in battle a Bohemian nobleman, and presented him to her as a slave.

The present proved more acceptable to the lady than her lord intended. She could speak Italian; and Smith, in that language, not only informed her of his country and quality, but conversed with her in so pleasing a manner as to gain her affections. The connexion proved so tender, that to secure him for herself and to prevent his being ill used or sold again, she sent him to her brother the Basha of Nalbraitz, in the country of the Cambrian Tartars, on the borders of the sea of Asoph. Her pretence was, that he should there learn the manners and language as well as religion of the Tartars. By the terms in which she wrote to her brother, he suspected her design, and resolved to disappoint her. Within an hour after Smith's arrival he was stripped; his head and beard were shaven, an iron collar was

put

put about his neck; he was clothed with a coat of hair-cloth, and driven to labour among other Christian slaves. He had now no hope of redemption, but from the love of his mistress, who was at a great distance, and not likely to be informed of his misfortune; the hopeless condition of his fellow slaves could not alleviate his despondency.

In the depth of his distress, an opportunity presented for an escape, which to a person of a less courageous and adventrous spirit would have proved an aggravation of misery. He was employed in threshing, at a grange, in a large field about a league from the house of his tyrant, who in his daily visits treated him with abusive language, accompanied with blows and kicks. This was more than Smith could bear, wherefore watching an opportunity when no other person was present, he levelled a stroke at him with his threshing instrument, which dispatched him. Then hiding his body in the straw and shutting the doors, he filled a bag with grain, mounted the Basha's horse, and betaking himself to the desart, wandered for two or three days, ignorant of the way, and so fortunate as not to meet with a single person who might give

information

information of his flight. At length he came to a post erected in a cross road, by the marks on which he found the way to Moscovy, and in sixteen days arrived at Exapolis on the river Don, where was a Russian garrison, the commander of which understanding that he was a Christian, received him courteously, took off his iron collar, and gave him letters to the other governors in that region. Thus he travelled through part of Russia and Poland, till he got back to his friends in Transylvania; receiving presents in his way from many persons of distinction, among whom he particularly mentions a charitable lady, Callamata, being always proud of his connexion with that sex, and fond of acknowledging their favours. At Leipsic he met with his colonel, count Meldrick, and Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who gave him 1500 ducats to repair his losses. With this money he was enabled to travel through Germany, France, and Spain, and having visited the kingdom of Morocco, he returned by sea to England; having in his passage enjoyed the pleasure of another naval engagement. At his arrival in his native country he had a thousand ducats in his purse, which, with the interest he had

remaining

remaining in England, he devoted to seek adventures and make discoveries in NORTH AMERICA.

Bartholomew Gosnold having conceived a favourable idea of America, had made it his business, on his return to England, to solicit assistance in prosecuting discoveries. Meeting with Captain Smith, he readily entered into his views, the employment being exactly suited to his enterprizing genius. Having engaged Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant, Robert Hunt, a clergyman, and several others, they prevailed upon a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, to solicit a patent from the crown, by which the adventurers to Virginia became subject to legal direction, and had the support and encouragement of a wealthy and respectable corporation; which was usually styled the South Virginia company, or the London company, in distinction from the Plymouth company, who superintended the affairs of North Virginia. The date of their patent was April 10, 1606, and on the 19th of the following December, three ships, one of one hundred tons, another of forty, and one of twenty, fell down the river Thames for Virginia. The commander was

Christopher

Christopher Newport, an experienced mariner. They had on board the necessary persons and provisions for a colony; and their orders for government were sealed in a box, which was not to be opened till they should arrive in Virginia.

The ships were kept in the Downs by bad weather six weeks, and afterward had a tempestuous voyage. They took the old route by the Canary and Caribbee islands, and did not make the entrance of Chesapeak Bay till the 26th of April 1607. From the beginning of their embarkation, there was a jealousy and dissention among the company. Smith and Hunt were friends, and both were envied and suspected by the others. Hunt was judicious and patient, his office secured him from insult. Smith was ardent and industrious, courteous in his deportment, but liberal in his language. On some suggestions that he intended to usurp the government, and that his confederates were dispersed among the companies of each ship, he was made a prisoner from the time of their leaving the Canaries, and was under confinement when they arrived in the Chesapeak. When the box was opened it was found that Bartholo-

mew

new Gosnold, John Smith, Edward M. Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliff, John Martin, and George Kendal were named to be of the council; who were to chuse a president from among themselves for one year, and the government was vested in them. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices. When the council was sworn, Wingfield was chosen president, and a declaration was made of the reasons for which Smith was not admitted and sworn among the others.

Seventeen days from their arrival were spent in seeking a proper place for their first plantation. The southern point of the bay was named Cape Henry, and the northern Cape Charles, in honour of the two sons of King James. To the first great river which they discovered they gave the name of their sovereign, and the northern point of its entrance was called Point Comfort, on account of the good channel and anchorage which they found there. On the flats they took plenty of oysters, in some of which were pearls; and on the plain they found large and ripe straw-

berries,

berries, which afforded them a delicious repast.

Having met with five of the natives, they invited them to their town, Kecoughtan, where Hampton is now built. Here they were feasted with cakes made of Indian corn, and regaled with tobacco, and a dance. In return they presented the natives beads and other trinkets. Proceeding up the river, another company of Indians appeared in arms. Their chief, Apamatica, holding in one hand his bow and arrow, and in the other a pipe of tobacco, demanded the cause of their coming; they made signs of peace, and were hospitably received. On the 13th of May, they pitched upon a peninsula where the ships could lie in six fathom water, moored to the trees, as the place of their intended settlement. Here they were visited by Paspiha, another Indian chief, who being made acquainted with their design, offered them as much land as they wanted, and afterward sent them a deer for their entertainment. On this spot they piched their tents, and gave it the name of James-town.

Every man was now employed either in digging and planting gardens, or making nets,

or

or in cutting and riving timber to relade the ſhips. The preſident at firſt would admit of no martial exerciſe, nor allow any fortifications to be made excepting the boughs of trees thrown together in the form of a half moon. Captain Newport took Smith and twenty more with him to diſcover the head of James-river. In ſix days they arrived at the falls, and erecting a croſs, as they had at Cape Henry, took poſſeſſion of the country in the name of King James. In this route they viſited POWHATAN, the principal Indian chief, or emperor. His town conſiſted of twelve houſes pleaſantly ſituate on a hill; before which were three iſlands, a little below the ſpot where Richmond is now built. Captain Newport preſented a hatchet to this prince, which he gratefully received, and when ſome of his Indians murmured at the coming of the Engliſh among them, he ſilenced them by ſaying "why ſhould we be offended? they hurt us not, nor take any thing by force; they want only a little ground which we can eaſily ſpare." This appearance of friendſhip was not much relied on, when at their return to James-town, they found that the company had been ſurpriſed at their work by a party of Indians, who

had

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had killed one and wounded ſeventeen others. A double headed ſhot from one of the ſhips had cut off a bough of a tree, which falling among the Indians, terrified and diſperſed them. This incident obliged the Preſident to alter the plan of the fort, which was now a triangular paliſade with a lunette at each angle; and five pieces of artillery were mounted on the works, which were completed by the 15th of June. It was alſo found neceſſary to exerciſe the men at arms, to mount guard and be vigilant, for the Indians would ſurpriſe and moleſt ſtragglers, whilſt by their ſuperior agility they would eſcape unhurt.

The ſhips being almoſt ready to return, it was thought proper that ſome deciſion ſhould be had reſpecting the allegations againſt Smith. His accuſers affected commiſeration, and pretended to refer him to the cenſure of the company in England, rather than to expoſe him, to a legal proſecution which might injure his reputation or touch his life. Smith, who knew both their malice and their impotence, openly ſcorned their pretended pity and defied their reſentment. He had conducted himſelf ſo unexceptionably in every employment which had been allotted to him, that he had

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rendered himſelf very popular; and his accuſers had by a different conduct loſt the affections and confidence of the people. Thoſe who had been ſuborned to accuſe him acknowledged their fault, and diſcovered the ſecret arts which had been practiſed againſt him. He demanded a trial, and the iſſue was, that the Preſident was adjudged to pay him two hundred pounds; but when his property was ſeized in part of this ſatisfaction, Smith generouſly turned it into the common ſtore, for the benefit of the colony. Such an action could not but increaſe his popularity. Many other difficulties had ariſen among them, which, by the influence of Smith, and the exhortations of Hunt, their chaplain, were brought to a ſeemingly amicable concluſion. Smith was admitted to his ſeat in the council, and on the next Sunday they celebrated the communion. At the ſame time the Indians came in, and voluntarily deſired peace. With the good report of theſe tranſactions Newport ſailed for England on the 22d of June, promiſing to return in twenty weeks with freſh ſupplies.

The colony thus left in Virginia conſiſted of one hundred and four perſons, in very miſerable

erable circumſtances, eſpecially on account of proviſions, to which calamity their long voyage did not a little contribute, both as it conſumed their ſtock, and deprived them of the opportunity of ſowing ſeaſonably in the ſpring. Whilſt the ſhips remained, they could barter with the ſailors for bread; but after their departure, each man's allowance was half a pint of damaged wheat, and as much barley, per day: the river, which at the flood was ſalt, and at the ebb was muddy, afforded them their only drink; it alſo ſupplied them with ſturgeon and ſhellfiſh. This kind of food, with their continual labour in the heat of ſummer, and their frequent watchings by night in all weathers, having only the bare ground to lie on with but a ſlight covering, produced diſeaſes among them; which by the month of September carried off fifty perſons, among whom was Captain Goſnold. Thoſe who remained were divided into three watches, of whom not more than five in each were capable of duty at once. All this time the Preſident, Wingfield, who had the key of the ſtores, monopolized the few refreſhments which remained, and was meditating to deſert the plantation privately in the pinnace,

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and remove to the West Indies. These things rendered him so hateful to the rest, that they deposed him and elected Ratcliffe in his room; they also removed Kendal from his place in the council, so that by the middle of September, three members only were left.

Ratcliffe, being a man of no resolution nor activity, committed the management of affairs abroad to Smith, in whom his confidence was not misplaced. At the same time the Indians in their neighbourhood brought in a plentiful supply of such provisions as they had, which revived their drooping spirits; and Smith seeing the necessity of exertion to secure themselves, and provide for the approaching winter, partly by his animating speeches, but more by his example, set them to work in mowing and binding thatch, and in building and covering houses. In these exercises he bore a large share, and in a short time got a sufficiency of houses to make comfortable lodgings for all the people excepting himself. This being done, and the provisions which the natives had brought in being expended, he picked a number of the best hands and embarked in a shallop which they had brought

from

from England, to search the country for another supply.

The party which accompanied Smith in this excursion, consisted of six men, well armed, but ill provided with clothing and other necessaries. What was wanting in equipment was to be supplied by resolution and address; and Smith's genius was equal to the attempt. They proceeded down the river to Kecoughtan [Hampton] where the natives, knowing the needy state of the colony, treated them with contempt, offering an ear of corn in exchange for a musket, or a sword, and in like proportion for their scant and tattered garments. Finding that courtesy and gentle treatment would not prevail, and that nothing was to be expected in the way of barter, and moreover provoked by their contempt, Smith ordered his boat to be drawn on shore and his men to fire at them. The affrighted natives fled to the woods, whilst the party searched their houses in which they found plenty of corn; but Smith did not permit his men to touch it; expecting that the Indians would return and attack them. They soon appeared to the number of sixty or seventy, formed into a square carrying their idol OKEE, composed

of ſkins, ſtuffed with moſs and adorned with chains of copper. They were armed with clubs and targets, bows and arrows, and advanced, ſinging, to the charge. The party received them with a volley of ſhot, which brought ſeveral of them to the ground and their idol among them; the reſt fled again to the woods, from whence they ſent a deputation to offer peace and redeem their god. Smith, having in his hands ſo valuable a pledge, was able to bring them to his own terms; he ſtipulated that ſix of them ſhould come unarmed, and load his boat with corn, and on this condition he would be their friend and give them hatchets, beads and copper. Theſe ſtipulations were faithfully performed on both ſides; and the Indians in addition preſented them with veniſon, turkies, and other birds; and continued ſinging and dancing till their departure.

The ſucceſs of this attempt encouraged him to repeat his excurſions by land and water; in the courſe of which he diſcovered ſeveral branches of James-River, and particularly the Chickahamony, from whoſe fertile banks he hoped to ſupply the colony with proviſion. But induſtry abroad will not make

a flouriſhing

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a flourishing plantation without economy at home. What he had taken pains and risqued his life to provide, was carelessly and wantonly expended; the traffic with the natives being under no regulation, each person made his own bargain, and by out bidding each other they taught the Indians to set a higher value on their commodities, and to think themselves cheated when they did not all get the same prices. This bred a jealousy and sowed the seeds of a quarrel with them, which the colony were in a poor condition to maintain, being at variance among themselves.

The shallop being again fitted for a trading voyage, whilst Smith was abroad on one of his usual rambles, and the people being discontented with the indolence of Ratcliffe, their president, and the long sickness of Martin; Wingfield and Kendal, who had been displaced, took advantage of Smith's absence, and conspired with some malcontents to run away with the vessel and go to England. Smith returned unexpectedly, and the plot was discovered. To prevent its execution, recourse was had to arms, and Kendal was killed. Another attempt of the same kind was made by Ratcliffe himself, assisted by

Archer; but Smith found means to defeat this also. He determined to keep possession of the country, the value of which was daily rising in his estimation; not only as a source of wealth to individuals, but as a grand national object; and he knew that great undertakings could not be accomplished without labour and perseverance.

As the autumn advanced, the waters were covered with innumerable wild fowl; which with the addition of corn, beans, and pumpkins, procured from the Indians, changed hunger into luxury, and abated the rage for abandoning the country. Smith had been once up the river Chickahamony, but because he had not penetrated to its source, exceptions were taken to his conduct as too dilatory. This imputation he determined to remove. In his next voyage, he went so high that he was obliged to cut the trees, which had fallen into the river, to make his way through as far as his boat could swim. He then left her in a safe place, ordering his men not to quit her until his return; then taking two of them, and two Indians for guides, he proceeded in one of their canoes to the meadows at the river's head; and leaving his two men

with

with the canoe, he went with his Indian guides acroſs the meadows. A party of 300 Indians below, had watched the motions of the boat. They firſt ſurprized the ſtraggling crew, and made one of them priſoner, from whom they learned that Smith was above. They next found the two men, whom he had left with the canoe, aſleep by a fire, and killed them; then having diſcovered Smith, they wounded him in the thigh with an arrow. Finding himſelf thus aſſaulted, and wounded, he bound one of his Indian guides with his garters to his left arm, and made uſe of him as a ſhield, whilſt he diſpatched three of his enemies and wounded ſome others. He was retreating to his canoe, when regarding his enemies, more than his footſteps, he ſuddenly plunged with his guide into an oozy creek, and ſtuck faſt in the mud. The Indians aſtoniſhed at his bravery did not approach him, till almoſt dead with cold, he threw away his arms, and begged them to draw him out, which they did and led him to the fire, where his ſlain companions were lying. This ſight admoniſhed him what he was to expect. Being revived by their chafing his benumbed limbs, he called for their chief, Opechankanow,

now, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he presented his ivory compass and dial. The vibrations of the needle, and the fly under the glass, which they could see but not touch, afforded them much amusement; and Smith, having learned something of their language, partly by means of that, and partly by signs, entertained them with a description of the nature and uses of the instrument; and gave them such a lecture on the motions of the heavens and earth, as amazed them, and suspended for a time, the execution of their purpose. At length, curiosity being satiated, they fastened him to a tree, and prepared to dispatch him with their arrows. At this instant, the chief holding up the compass, which he esteemed as a divinity, they laid aside their arms, and forming a military procession, led him in triumph to their village Orapaxe. The order of their march was thus: they ranged themselves in a single file, the King in the midst, before him were borne the arms taken from Smith and his companions; next after the King, came the prisoner, held by three stout savages; and on each side a file of six. When they arrived at the village, the old men, women, and children, came

out

out to receive them; after ſome manœuvres, which had the appearance of regularity, they formed themſelves round the King and his priſoner, into a circle, dancing and ſinging, adorned with paint, furs, and feathers, brandiſhing their rattles, which were made of the tails of rattleſnakes. After three dances, they diſperſed, and Smith was conducted to a long hut, guarded by forty men. There he was ſo plentifully feaſted with bread and veniſon, that he ſuſpected their intention was to fatten and eat him. One of the Indians, to whom Smith had formerly given beads, brought him a garment of furs, to defend him from the cold. Another, whoſe ſon was then ſick and dying, attempted to kill him, but was prevented by the guard. Smith being conducted to the dying youth, told them that he had a medicine at James-town, which would cure him, if they would let him fetch it; but they had another deſign, which was to ſurprize the place, and make uſe of him as a guide. To induce him to perform this ſervice, they promiſed him his liberty, with as much land, and as many women, as would content him. Smith magnified the difficulty and danger of their attempt, from the ordnance,

mines

mines and other defences of the place, which exceedingly terrified them, and to convince them of the truth of what he told them, he wrote on a leaf of his pocket book, an inventory of what he wanted, with some directions to the people at the fort, how to affright the messengers who went to deliver the letter. They returned in three days, reporting the terror, into which they had been thrown, and when they produced the things for which he had written, the whole company were astonished at the power of his divination by the *speaking leaf*.

After this they carried him through several nations, inhabiting the banks of the Potowmack and Rapahanock, and at length brought him to Pamaunkee; where they performed a strange ceremony, by which they intended to divine, whether his intentions toward them, were friendly or hostile. The manner of it was this: early in the morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on each side, on one of which he was placed, and the guard retired. Presently, an Indian priest, hideously painted, and dressed in furs and snake skins, came skipping in, and after a variety of uncouth noises and gestures, drew a circle

with

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with meal round the fire. Then came in three more in the same frightful dress, and after they had performed their dance, three others. They all sat opposite to him in a line, the chief priest in the midst. After singing a song, accompanied with the music of their rattles, the chief priest laid down five grains of corn, and after a short speech three more; this was repeated till the fire was encircled. Then continuing the incantation, he laid sticks between the divisions of the corn. The whole day was spent in these ceremonies, with fasting; and at night a feast was prepared of the beast meats which they had. The same tricks were repeated the two following days. They told him that the circle of meal represented their country, the circle of corn the sea shore, and the sticks his country; they did not acquaint him, or he has not acquainted us with the result of the operation; but he observed that the gunpowder, which they had taken from him, was laid up among their corn, to be planted the next spring.

After these ceremonies, they brought him to the emperor POWHATAN, who received him in royal state, clothed in a robe of racoon skins, seated on a kind of throne, elevated

elevated above the floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire; at each hand of the prince, sat two beautiful girls, his daughters, and along each side of the house, a row of his counsellors, painted and adorned with feathers and shells. At Smith's entrance a great shout was made. The Queen of Apamatox, brought him water to wash his hands, and another served him with a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel. Having feasted him after their manner, a long consultation was held, which being ended, two large stones were brought in, on one of which his head was laid, and clubs were lifted up to beat out his brains. At this critical moment, POCAHONTAS, the King's favourite daughter, flew to him, took his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it. Her tender intreaties prevailed. The king consented that Smith should live, to make hatchets for him, and ornaments for her.

Two days after, Powhatan caused him to be brought to a distant house; where, after another threatening, he confirmed his promise, and told him he should return to the fort, and send him two pieces of cannon, and a grindstone; for which he would give him the

country

country of Capahoufick, and forever efteem him as his fon. Twelve guides accompanied him, and he arrived at James-town, the next day. According to the ftipulation, two guns and a large grindftone were offered them, but having in vain tried to lift them, they were content to let them remain in their place. Smith, however, had the guns loaded, and difcharged a volley of ftones, at a tree covered with icicles. The report and effect confounded them; but being pacified with a few toys, they returned, carrying prefents to Powhatan and his daughter, of fuch things as gave them entire fatisfaction. After this adventure, the young princefs, Pocahontas, frequently vifited the plantation, with her attendants, and the refreftments which fhe brought from time to time proved the means of faving many lives, which otherwife would have been loft.

Smith's return happened at another critical juncture. The colony was divided into parties, and the malcontents, were again preparing to quit the country. His prefence a third time, defeated the project; in revenge for which they meditated to put him to death, under pretence that he had been the means of murdering the

two

two men who went with him in the canoe; but by a proper application of valour and strength, he put his accusers under confinement, till an opportunity presented for sending them as prisoners to England.

The misfortunes and mismanagements of this Virginian colony, during the period here related, seem to have originated partly in the tempers and qualifications of the men who were appointed to command, and partly in the nature and circumstances of the adventure. There could be no choice of men for the service, but among those who offered themselves; and these were previously strangers to each other, as well as different in their education, qualities and habits. Some of them had been used to the command of ships, and partook of the roughness of the element on which they were bred. It is perhaps, no great compliment to Smith, to say that he was the best qualified of *them*, for command; since the event proved that none of them, who survived the first sickness, had the confidence of the people in any degree. It is certain that his resolution prevented the abandonment of the place the first year; his enterprizing spirit led to an exploration of the country, and

acquainted

acquainted them with its many advantages; his captivity produced an intercourse with the savages; and the supplies gained from them, chiefly by means of his address, kept the people alive till the second arrival of the ships from England. The Virginians, therefore, justly regard him, if not as the father, yet as the saviour of that infant plantation.

In the winter of 1607, Capt. Newport arrived from England in Virginia. The other ship, commanded by Capt. Nelson, which sailed at the same time, was dismasted on the American coast, and blown off to the West-Indies. The supplies sent by the company were received in Virginia with the most cordial avidity; but the general license given to the sailors, to trade with the savages, proved detrimental to the planters, as it raised the prices of their commodities so high, that a pound of copper would not purchase, what before could be bought for an ounce. Newport himself was not free from this spirit of profusion, so common to seafaring men, which he manifested by sending presents of various kinds to Powhatan, intending thereby to give him an idea of the grandeur of the English nation. In a visit which he made to this

prince, under the conduct of Smith, he was received and entertained with an equal show of magnificence; but in trading with the savage chief, he found himself outwitted. Powhatan, in a lofty strain, spoke to him thus: "It is not agreeable to the greatness of such men as we are, to trade like common people for trifles; lay down therefore at once, all your goods, and I will give you the full value for them." Smith perceived the snare, and warned Newport of it; but he, thinking to out brave the savage prince, displayed the whole of his store. Powhatan then set such a price on his corn, that not more than four bushels could be procured; and the necessary supplies could not have been had, if Smith's genius, ever ready at invention, had not hit on an artifice which proved successful. He had secreted some trifles, and among them a parcel of *blue beads*, which, seemingly in a careless way, he glanced in the eyes of Powhatan. The bait caught him; and he earnestly desired to purchase them. Smith, in his turn, raised the value of them, extolling them as the most precious jewels, resembling the colour of the sky, and proper only for the noblest sovereigns in the universe. Powhatan's

imagination

imagination was all on fire, he made large offers. Smith insisted on more, and at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take between two and three hundred bushels of corn for about two pounds of blue beads, and they parted in very good humour, each one being very much pleased with his bargain. In a subsequent visit to Opecankenough, King of Pamunkee, the company were entertained with the same kind of splendor, and a similar bargain closed the festivity; by which means the blue beads grew into such estimation, that none but the princes and their families were able to wear them.

Loaded with this acquisition, they returned to James-town; where an unhappy fire had consumed several of their houses, with much of their provisions and furniture. Mr. Hunt, the chaplain, lost his apparel and library in this conflagration, and escaped from it with only the clothes on his back. This misfortune was severely felt; the ship staying in port fourteen weeks, and reserving enough for the voyage home, so contracted their stock of provisions, that before the winter was gone they were reduced to great extremity, and many of them died. The cause of the ship's

detention

detention for so long a time was this: In searching for fresh water in the neighbourhood of James-town, they had discovered in a rivulet, some particles of a yellowish isinglass, which their sanguine imaginations had refined into gold dust. The zeal for this precious matter was so strong, that in digging, washing and packing it to compleat the lading of the ship, all other cares were absorbed. This was a tedious interval to Capt. Smith; his judgment condemned their folly, his patience was exhausted, and his passion irritated; and the only recompense which he had for this long vexation was, the pleasure of sending home Wingfield and Archer, when the ship departed.

The other ship arrived in the spring, and notwithstanding a long and unavoidable detention in the West-Indies, brought them a comfortable supply of provisions. They took advantage of the opening season, to rebuild their houses and chapel, repair the palisades, and plant corn for the ensuing summer, in all which works the example and authority of Smith, were of eminent service. Every man of activity was fond of him, and those of a contrary disposition were afraid of him. It

was

was proposed that he should go into the country of the Monacans, beyond the falls of James-river, that they might have some news of the interior parts to send home to the company; but a fray with the Indians detained him at James-town, till the ship sailed for England, laden chiefly with cedar, but not without another specimen of the yellow dust, of which Martin was so fond, that he took charge of the packages himself and returned to England. An accession of above one hundred men, among whom were several goldsmiths and refiners, had been made to the colony, by the two last ships, and a new member, Matthew Scrivener, was added to the council.

Having finished the necessary business of the season, and dispatched the ship, another voyage of discovery was undertaken by Capt. Smith and fourteen others. They went down the river (June 10, 1608) in an open barge, in company with the ship, and having parted with her at Cape Henry, they crossed the mouth of the bay, and fell in with a cluster of islands without Cape Charles, to which they gave the name of Smith's Isles, which they still bear. Then re-entering the bay

they landed on the eastern neck, and were kindly received by Acomack, the prince of that peninsula, a part of which still bears his name. From thence they coasted the eastern shore of the bay, and landed sometimes on the main, and at other times on the low islands, of which they found many, but none fit for habitation. They proceeded up the bay to the northward and crossed over to the western shore, down which they coasted to the southward, and in this route discovered the mouths of the great rivers, which fall into the bay on that side. One in particular, attracted much of their attention, because of a reddish earth which they found there, and from its resemblance to bole-ammoniac, they gave it the name of Bolus-river, and it is so named in all the early maps of the country; but in the later, it bears the Indian name Patapsco; on the north side of which is now the flourishing town of *Baltimore*. They sailed thirty miles up the Potowmack, without seeing any inhabitants; but on entering a creek found themselves surrounded by Indians who threatened them. Smith prepared for an encounter; but on firing a few guns, the Indians, terrified at the noise, made signs

of

of peace, and exchanged hostages. One of the company was by this means carried to the habitation of their prince, and the whole were kindly used. They learned that it was by direction of Powhatan that the Indians were in arms, and had attempted to surprise them; from this circumstance they were led to suspect that Powhatan, had been informed of this expedition, by the discontented part of the colony whom Smith had obliged to stay in the country when they would have deserted it.

It was Smith's invariable custom, when he met with the Indians, to put on a bold face, and if they appeared desirous of peace to demand their arms, and some of their children as pledges of their sincerity; if they complied, he considered them as friends; if not, as enemies. In the course of this voyage, he collected some furs, and discovered some coloured earths, which the savages used as paints, but found nothing of the mineral kind. At the mouth of the Rappahanock, the boat grounded, and whilst they were waiting for the tide, they employed themselves in sticking with their swords the fishes which were left on the flats. Smith having stuck his sword

into a stingray, the fish raised its tail, and with its sharp indented thorn, wounded him in the arm. The wound was extremely painful, and he presently swelled to that degree, that they expected him to die, and he himself gave them orders to bury him on a neighbouring island. But the surgeon, Dr. Russel, having probed the wound; by the help of a certain oil, so allayed the anguish and swelling, that Smith was able to eat part of the fish for his supper. From this occurrence, the place was distinguished by the name of Stingray-Point, which it still bears.

On the 21st of July, they returned to James-town. Having, with the coloured earths which they had found, disguised their boat and streamers, their old companions were alarmed at their approach, with the apprehension of an attack from the Spaniards; this was a trick of Smith's to frighten the old President, who had rioted on the public stores, and was building a house in the woods, that he might seclude himself from the sickly, discontented, quarrelsome company. On Smith's arrival, they signified their desire of investing him with the government. Ratcliffe being deposed, it fell to him of course; and having

recommended

recommended Scrivener to preside in his absence, he entered on another voyage of discovery, being determined to spare no pains for a full explanation of the country.

Upon the 24th of July, to the 7th of September, with twelve men in an open barge, he ranged the bay of Chesapeak, as far northward as the falls of Susquehannah, entering all the rivers that flow into the bay, and examining their shores. In some places, the natives were friendly, and in others jealous. Their idea of the strange visitors, was, that they had come "from under the world to take their world from them." Smith's constant endeavour, was to preserve peace with them; but when he could not obtain corn in the way of traffic, he never scrupled to use threats, and in some cases, violence, and by one or the other method he prevailed so as to bring home a load of provisions for his discontented companions, who without his efforts would not have been able to live. Sickness and death were very frequent, and the latest comers, were most affected by the disorders of the climate.

Smith was now established in the presidency, by the election of the council and the request

quest of the company; but the commission gave to a majority of the council the whole power. Newport, at his third arrival, brought over two new members, and Ratcliffe having still a seat, though deposed from the presidency, Smith was obliged in some cases to comply with their opinions, contrary to his own judgment, an instance of which will now be exhibited.

The Virginia company in London, deceived by false reports, and misled by their own sanguine imaginations, had conceived an expectation not only of finding precious metals in the country, but of discovering the South Sea, from the mountains at the head of James-river; and it was thought, that the journey thither, might be performed in eight or ten days. For the purpose of making this capital discovery, they put on board Newport's ship, a barge capable of being taken to pieces, and put together again at pleasure. This barge was to make a voyage to the head of the river, then to be carried in pieces across the mountains, and to descend the rivers which were supposed to run westward to the South Sea. To facilitate this plan, it was necessary to gain the favour of Powhatan, through whose

country

country the passage must be made; and as a means of winning him, a royal present was brought over, consisting of a bason and ewer, a bed and furniture, a chair of state, a suit of scarlet clothes, with a cloak and a crown, all which were to be presented to him in due form; and the crown placed on his head, with as much solemnity as possible. To a person who knew the country and its inhabitants as well as Smith, this project appeared chimerical, and the means whereby it was to be carried on, dangerous. With a small quantity of copper and a few beads, he could have kept Powhatan in good humour, and made an advantage of it for the colony, whereas a profusion of presents he knew would but increase his pride and insolence. The project of trudging over unknown mountains with men already weakened by sickness, and worn out with fatigue, in a hot climate, and in the midst of enemies, who might easily cut off their retreat, was too romantic even for his sanguine and adventrous spirit. His opinion upon the matter cannot be expressed in more pointed language, than he used in a letter to the company. "If the quartered boat was burned to ashes, one might carry her in a bag,

burns so is, five hundred cannot be a navigable place above the falls. His dissent however was ineffectual, and when he found that the voice of the council was for executing it, he lent his assistance to effect as much of it as was practicable.

Previously to their setting out, he undertook, with four men only, to carry notice to Powhatan of the intended present, and invite him to come to James-town, that he might receive it there. Having travelled by land twelve miles to Werocomoco, on Pamunky (York) river, where he expected to meet Powhatan, and not finding him there, whilst a messenger was dispatched thirty miles for him; his daughter Pocahontas, entertained Smith and his company with a dance, which for its singularity, merits a particular description.

In an open plain, a fire being made, the gentlemen were seated by it. Suddenly a noise was heard in the adjacent wood, which made them fly to their arms, and seize on two or three old men, as hostages for their own security, imagining that they were besieged. Upon this the young princess came running to Smith, and passionately embracing him,

offered

offered herself to be killed, if any harm should happen to him or his company. Her assurances, seconded by all the Indians present, removed their fears. The noise which had alarmed them, was made by thirty girls, who were preparing for the intended ceremony. Immediately they made their appearance, with no other covering than a girdle of green leaves and their skins painted, each one of a different colour. Their leader had a pair of buck's horns on her head, an otter's skin as her girdle, and another on one arm; a bow and arrow in the other hand, and a quiver at her back. The rest of them had horns on their heads, and a wooden sword or staff in their hands. With shouting and singing, they formed a ring round the fire, and performed a circular dance for about an hour, after which they retired in the same order as they had advanced. The dance was followed by a feast, at which the savage nymphs were as eager with their caresses as with their attendance; and this being ended, they conducted the gentlemen to their lodging by the light of fire brands.

The next day Powhatan arrived, and Smith delivered the message from his father, Newport

(as

(as he always called him) to this effect: "That he had brought him from the King of England, a royal present, and wished to see him at James-town, that he might deliver it to him; promising to assist him in prosecuting his revenge against the Monacans, whose country they would penetrate even to the sea beyond the mountains." To which the savage prince with equal subtility and haughtiness, answered, "If your King has sent me a present, I also am a King, and am on my own land. I will stay here eight days. Your father must come to me, I will not go to him, nor to your fort. As for the Monacans, I am able to revenge myself. If you have heard of salt water beyond the mountains, from any of my people, they have deceived you." Then with a stick he drew a plan of that region on the ground; and after many compliments the conference ended.

The present being put on board, the boat was carried down James-river and up the Pamunkee, whilst Newport, with fifty men, went round by land and met the boats, in which he passed the river, and held the proposed interview. All things being prepared for the ceremony of coronation, the present was brought

from the boats; the bason and ewer were deposited, the bed and chairs were set up, the scarlet suit and cloak were put on, though not till Namontac (an Indian youth, whom Newport had carried to England and brought back again) had assured him that those habiliments would do him no harm; but they had great difficulty in persuading him to receive the crown, nor would he bend his knee, nor incline his head in the least degree. After many attempts, and with actual pressing on his shoulders, they at last made him stoop a little and put it on. Instantly, a signal being given, the men in the boats fired a volley, at which the monarch started with horror, imagining that a design was forming to destroy him in the summit of his glory; but being assured that it was meant as a compliment, his fear subsided, and in return for the baubles of royalty received from King James, he desired Newport to present him his old fur mantle and deer skin shoes, which in his estimation were doubtless a full equivalent; since all this finery could not prevail on the wary chief to allow them guides for the discovery of the inland country, or to approve their design of visiting it. Thus disappointed they returned

to James-town, determined to proceed without his assistance.

Smith, who had no mind to go on such a fruitless errand, tarried at the fort with eighty invalids to relade the ship, whilst Newport with all the council, and one hundred and twenty of the healthiest men, began their transmontane tour of discovery. They proceeded in their boats to the falls at the head of the river; from thence they travelled up the country two days and a half, and discovered two towns of the Monacans, the inhabitants of which seemed very indifferent toward them, and used them neither well nor ill. They took one of their petty princes and led him bound to guide them. Having performed this march, they grew weary and returned, taking with them in their way back certain portions of earth, in which their refiner pretended that he had seen signs of silver. This was all the success of their expedition; for the Savages had concealed their corn, and they could neither persuade them to sell it, nor find it to take it by force. Thus they returned to James-town, tired, disappointed, hungry and sick, and had the additional mortification of being laughed at by Smith for their vain attempt.

The

The Virginia company had not only a view to the discovery of the South Sea, but also to establish manufactures in their colony; and for this purpose had sent over a number of workmen from Poland and Germany, who were skilled in the making pot ashes and glass, as well as pitch and tar. Had the country been full of people, well cultivated and provided with all necessaries for carrying on these works, there might have been some prospect of advantage; but, in a new region, the principal objects are subsistence and defence; these will necessarily occupy the first adventurers to the exclusion of all others. However, Smith was of so generous a disposition, and so indefatigable in doing what he apprehended to be his duty, and in gratifying his employers, that as soon as Newport returned from his fruitless attempt to find the South Sea, he set all, who were able, to work, that he might, if possible, answer the expectation of the company. Those who were skilled in the manufactures, he left under the care of the council, to carry on their works; whilst he took thirty of the most active with him, about five miles down the river, to cut timber, and make clapboards; this being, as he well knew, an employment the

most certain of success. Among these were several young gentlemen, whose hands not having been used to labour, were blistered by the axes, and this occasioned frequent expressions of impatience and profaneness. To punish them, Smith caused the number of every man's oaths to be taken down daily, and at night as many canns of water to be poured in at his sleeve. This discipline was no less singular than effectual; it so lessened the number of oaths, that scarcely one was heard in a week, and withal it made them perfectly good humoured, and reconciled them to their labour. At his return to the fort, he found, not only that business had been neglected, but much provision consumed, and that it was necessary for him to undertake another expedition for corn. He, therefore, went up the Chickahamony with two boats and eighteen men, and finding the Indians not in a humour for trading, but rather scornful and insolent, he told them that he had come not so much for corn, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the murder of his two men, some time before. Putting his crew in a posture of attack, the Indians fled, and presently sent messengers to treat of peace; for the obtaining which, he made

made them give him an hundred bushels of corn, with a quantity of fish and fowls; and with this supply he kept the colony from starving, and preserved the ship's provisions for her voyage to England. At her departure, she carried such specimens as could be had of tar, pitch, turpentine, soap ashes, clapboards, and wainscot; and at Point Comfort, met with Scrivener, who had been up the Pamaunkee for corn, and had got a quantity of *pocones*, a red root, used in dying; these being taken on board, Capt. Newport returned to England the third time, leaving about two hundred persons in Virginia.

The harvest of 1608, had fallen short both among the new planters and the natives, and the colony was indebted to the inventive genius and indefatigable perseverance of Smith, for their subsistence during the succeeding winter. As long as the rivers were open, he kept the boats continually going among the natives, for such supplies as could be obtained; and he never would return empty, if any thing were to be had by any means in his power. Whilst abroad on these excursions, he and his men were obliged frequently to lodge in the woods, when the ground was

hard frozen and covered with snow; and their mode of accomodating themselves was, first to dig away the snow and make a fire; when the ground was dried and warmed, they removed the fire to one side, and spread their mats over the warm spot for their bed, using another mat as a screen from the wind; when the ground cooled, they shifted the fire again; by thus continually changing their position they kept themselves tolerably warm through many cold nights; and it was observed, that those who went on this service and submitted to these hardships, were robust and healthy, whilst those who stayed at home were always weak and sickly.

The supplies procured by trading being insufficient, and hunger very pressing, Smith ventured on the dangerous project of surprizing Powhatan; and carrying off his whole stock of provisions. This Indian prince, had formed a similar design respecting Smith; and for the purpose of betraying him, had invited him to his seat, promising that if he would send men to build him a house, after the English mode, and give him some guns and swords, copper and beads, he would load his boat with corn. Smith sent him three

Dutch

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Dutch carpenters, who treacherously revealed to him the design which Smith had formed. On his arrival with forty six men, he found the prince, so much on his guard, that it was impossible to execute his design. Having spent the day in conversation (in the course of which Powhatan had in vain endeavoured to persuade Smith to lay aside his arms, as being there in perfect security) he retired in the evening and formed a design to surprize Smith, and his people at their supper; and had it not been for the affectionate friendship of Pocahontas, it would probably have been effected. This amiable girl, at the risque of her life, stole from the side of her father, and passing in the dark through the woods, told Smith with tears in her eyes of the plot, and then as privately returned. When the Indians brought in the supper, Smith obliged them to taste of every dish; his arms were in readiness, and his men vigilant; and though there came divers sets of messengers one after another, during the night, under pretence of friendly inquiries, they found them so well prepared, that nothing was attempted, and the party returned in safety.

In a subsequent visit to Opecanancough, by whom he formerly was taken prisoner, this prince put on the semblance of friendship, whilst his men lay in ambush with their bows and arrows. The trick being discovered by one of Smith's party and communicated to him, he resolutely seized the King by his hair, and holding a pistol to his breast, led him trembling to the ambush, and there with a torrent of reproachful and menacing words, obliged him to order those very people not only to lay down their arms, but to load him with provisions. After this, they made an attempt to murder him in his sleep, and to poison him, but both failed of success. The chief of Paspiha meeting him alone in the woods, armed only with a sword, attempted to shoot him, but he closed with the savage, and in the struggle both fell into the river; where, after having narrowly escaped drowning, Smith at last prevailed to gripe him by the throat, and would have cut off his head, but the intreaties of the poor victim prevailing on his humanity, he led him prisoner to James-town.

This intrepid behaviour struck a dread into the savages, and they began to believe what

he

he had often told them, that if his God would protect him against all their powers, whilst he kept his promise; which was to preserve peace with them, as long as they should refrain from hostilities, and continue to supply him with corn." An incident which occurred about the same time, confirmed their veneration for him. An Indian having stolen a pistol from James-town, two brothers who were known to be his companions were seized, and one was held as hostage for the other, who was to return in twelve hours with the pistol, or the prisoner was to be hanged. The weather being cold, a charcoal fire was kindled in the dungeon which was very close, and the vapour had so suffocated the prisoner, that on the return of his brother at the appointed time, with the pistol, he was taken out as dead. The faithful savage lamented his fate in the most distressing agony. Smith, to console him, promised, if they would steal no more, that he should be recovered. On the application of spirits and vinegar, he shewed signs of life, but appeared delirious; this grieved the brother as much as his death. Smith undertook to cure him of this also, on the repetition of the promise to steal no more.

The delirium being only the effect of the spirits which he had swallowed, was remedied by a few hours sleep; and being dismissed, with a present of copper, they went away, believing and reporting that Smith was able to *bring the dead to life*. The effect was, that not only many stolen things were recovered, and the thieves punished, but that peace and friendly intercourse were preserved, and corn brought in as long as they had any, whilst Smith remained in Virginia.

He was equally severe and resolute with his own men, and finding many of them inclining to be idle, and this idleness in a great measure the cause of their frequent sicknesses and deaths, he made an order, "that he who would not work should not eat, unless he were disabled, by sickness; and that every one who did not gather as much food in a day as he did himself, should be banished." A recent attempt having been made, to run away with the boats, he ordered that the next person who should repeat this offence should be hanged. By firmness in the execution of these laws, and by the concurrent force of his own example in labouring continually, and distributing his whole share of European pro-

visions

visions and refreshments to the sick, he kept the colony in such order, that, though many of them murmured at his severity, they all became very industrious; and withal so healthy, that, of two hundred persons, there died that winter and the next spring no more than seven. In the space of three months they had made a quantity of tar, pitch, and pot ashes; had produced a sample of glass; dug a well in the fort; built twenty new houses; provided nets and wiers for fishing; erected a block house on the isthmus of James-town; another on Hog Island; and had begun a fortress on a commanding eminence. As the spring came on, they paid such attention to husbandry, as to have thirty or forty acres cleared and fit for planting; and a detachment had been sent to the southward, to look for the long lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh, but without success.

Such was the state of the Virginia colony, when Captain Samuel Argal arrived on a trading voyage, and brought letters from the company in England, complaining of their disappointment, and blaming Smith as the cause of it. They had conceived an ill opinion of him, from the persons whom he had sent

home,

home, who represented him as arbitrary and violent toward the colonists, cruel to the savages, and disposed to traverse the views of the adventurers, who expected to grow rich very suddenly.

There was this disadvantage attending the business of colonization in North America, at that day, that the only precedents which could be had were those of the Spaniards, who had treated the natives with extreme cruelty, and amassed vast sums of gold and silver. Whilst the English adventurers detested the means by which the Spaniards had acquired their riches, they still expected that the same kind of riches might be acquired by other means. It was therefore thought politic, to be gentle in demeanor and lavish of presents toward the natives, as an inducement to them to discover the riches of their country. On these principles the orders of the Virginia company to their servants were framed. But experience had taught Smith, the most discerning and faithful of all whom they had employed, that the country of Virginia would not enrich the adventurers, in the time and manner which they expected; yet he was far from abandoning it as worthless; his aim was thoroughly

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to explore it; and by exploring, he had discovered what advantages might be derived from it; to produce which, time, patience, expense and labour, were absolutely necessary. He had fairly represented these ideas to his employers, he had spent three years in their service, and from his own observations had drawn and sent them a map of the country; and he had conducted their affairs, as well as the nature of circumstances would permit. He had had a disorderly, factious, discontented, disappointed set of men, to control, by the help of a few adherents; in the face of the native lords of the soil, formidable in their numbers and knowledge of the country, versed in stratagem, tenacious of resentment, and jealous of strangers. To court them by presents was to acknowledge their superiority, and inflate their pride and insolence. Though savages, they were men and not children. Though destitute of science, they were possessed of reason, and a sufficient degree of art. To know how to manage them, it was necessary to be personally acquainted with them; and it must be obvious, that a person who had resided several years among them, and had been a prisoner with them, was a much better judge of the

proper

proper methods of treating them, than a company of gentlemen at several thousand miles distance, and who could know them only by report. Smith had, certainly, the interest of the plantation at heart, and by toilsome experience, had just learned how to conduct it; when he found himself so obnoxious to his employers, that a plan was concerted to supersede him, and reinstate, with a share of authority, those whom he had dismissed from the service.

The Virginia Company had applied to the King to recal their patent and grant another; in virtue of which they appointed Thomas Lord de la Warre, general; Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant general; Sir George Somere, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, marshal; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, general of horse; and Captain Newport, (the only one of them who had seen the country) vice-admiral. The adventurers having, by the alteration of their patent, acquired a reinforcement both of dignity and property, equipped nine ships; in which were embarked five hundred persons, men, women and children. Gates, Somers, and Newport, had each a commission, investing either of them who might first arrive, with power to call in the

old

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old and set up the new commission. The fleet sailed from England in May 1609, and by some strange policy the three commanders were embarked in one ship. This ship being separated from the others in a storm, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda; another foundered at sea; and when the remaining seven arrived in Virginia, two of which were commanded by Ratcliffe and Archer, they found themselves destitute of authority; though some of them were full enough of prejudice against Smith who was then in command. The ships had been greatly shattered in their passage, much of their provision was spoiled, many of their people were sick; and the season in which they arrived was not the most favourable to their recovery. A mutinous spirit soon broke out, and a scene of confusion ensued; the new comers would not obey Smith, because they supposed his commission to be superseded; the new commission was not arrived, and it was uncertain whether the ship which carried it would ever be seen or heard of. Smith would gladly have withdrawn and gone back to England, but his honor was concerned in maintaining his authority till he should be regularly superseded; and his spirit would not suffer him

to

to be trampled on by those whom he despised. Upon due consideration, he determined to maintain his authority as far as he was able; waiting some proper opportunity to retire. Some of the most insolent of the new comers, "he laid by the heels." With the more moderate he consulted what was best to be done; and, as a separation seemed to be the best remedy, and it had been in contemplation to extend the settlements, some were induced to go up to the Falls, others to Nansemond, and others to Point Comfort. Smith's year being almost expired, he offered to resign to Martin, who had been one of the old council, but Martin would not accept the command; he, therefore, kept up the form; and, as much as he could, of the power of government; till an accident which had nearly proved fatal to his life, obliged him to return to England.

On his return from the new plantation at the Falls; sleeping by night in his boat; a bag of gun powder took fire, and burnt him in a most terrible manner. Awaking in surprise, and finding himself wrapt in flames, he leaped into the water, and was almost drowned, before his companions could recover him.

him. At his return to James-town, in this distressed condition, Ratcliffe and Archer conspired to murder him in his bed; but the assassin, whom they employed, had not courage to fire a pistol. Smith's old soldiers would have taken off their heads; but he thought it prudent to pass by the offence, and take this opportunity, as there was no surgeon in the country, of returning to England. As soon as his intention was known, the council appointed Mr. Percie to preside in his room; and detained the ship three weeks, till they could write letters, and frame complaints against him. He at length sailed for England about the latter end of September 1609; much regreted by his few friends, one of whom has left this character of him. "In all his proceedings he made justice his first guide, and experience his second; hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any dangers. He never would allow more for himself than for his soldiers; and upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself. He would never see us want what he had, or could by any means get for us. He would rather want than borrow; or starve, than not pay. He loved action more than words; and hated covetousness

and

and falsehood worse than death. His adventures were our lives; and his loss our deaths."

There needs no better testimony to the truth of this character, than what is related of the miserable colony after he had quitted it. Without government, without prudence, careless, indolent, and factious, they became a prey to the insolence of the natives, to the diseases of the climate and to famine. Within six months, their number was reduced from five hundred to sixty; and when the three commanders, who had been wrecked on Bermuda, arrived (1610) with one hundred and fifty men in two small vessels, which they had built out of the ruins of their ship, and the cedars which grew on the island; they found the remnant of the colony in such a forlorn condition; that without hesitation, they determined to abandon the country, and were sailing down the river; when they met a boat from the Lord De la Warre, who had come with a fleet to their relief. By his persuasion they resumed the plantation, and to this fortunate incident, may be ascribed the full establishment of the colony of Virginia.

Such a genius as Smith's could not remain idle. He was well known in England, and

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the report of his valour, and his spirit of adventure, pointed him out to a number of merchants, who were engaged in the American fishery, as a proper person to make discoveries on the coast of North Virginia. In April 1614, he sailed from London with two ships, and arrived at the island of Monahigon in latitude 43°½, as it was then computed, where he built seven boats. The design of the voyage was to take whales, to examine a mine of gold, and another of copper, which were said to be there; and if either, or both of these should fail, to make up the cargo with fish and furs. The mines proved a fiction, and by long chasing the whales to no purpose, they lost the best season for fishing; but whilst the seamen were engaged in these services; Smith, in one of his boats, with eight men, ranged the coast, east and west, from Penobscot to Cape Cod; bartering with the natives for beaver and other furs, and making observations on the shores, islands, harbours, and head lands; which, at his return to England, he wrought into a map, and presenting it to prince Charles, (afterward the *royal martyr*) with a request that he would give the country a name, it was for the first time

called *New-England*. The prince also made several alterations in the names which Smith had given to particular places. For instance, he had called the name of that promontory, which forms the eastern entrance of Massachusetts bay, Tragabigzanda; after the name of the Turkish lady to whom he had been formerly a slave at Constantinople; and the three islands which lie off the Cape, the Turks Heads, in memory of his victory over the three Turkish champions, in his Transylvanian adventures. The former, Charles, in filial respect to his mother, called Cape Anne, which name it has ever since retained; the name of the islands has long since been lost; and another cluster to which he gave his own name, Smith's Isles, and which name the prince did not alter, are now, and have for more than a century been called the Isles of Shoals; so that the most pointed marks of his discoveries on the coast of New-England, have, either by his own complaisance to the son of his sovereign, or by force of time and accidents become obsolete. When he sailed for England in one of the ships, he left the other behind, to complete her lading, with orders to sell the fish in Spain. The master, Thomas

Hunt,

Hunt, decoyed twenty four of the natives on board, and sold them in Spain for slaves. The memory of this base transaction was long preserved among the Americans, and succeeding adventurers suffered on account of it.

At Smith's return to England he put in at Plymouth; where relating his adventures, and communicating his sentiments to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, he was introduced to the Plymouth Company of adventurers to North Virginia, and engaged in their service. At London he was invited by the South Virginia company to return to their service; but made use of his engagement with the Plymouth adventurers as an excuse for declining their invitation. From this circumstance it seems, that they had been convinced of his former fidelity, notwithstanding the letters and reports which they had formerly received to his disadvantage.

During his stay in London, he had the very singular pleasure of seeing his friend Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan. Having been made a prisoner in Virginia, she was there married to Mr. John Rolfe, and by him was brought to England. She was then about twenty two years of age; her person

was graceful, and her deportment gentle and pleasing. She had been taught the English language and the Christian religion, and baptized by the name of Rebecca. She had heard that Smith was dead, and knew nothing to the contrary, till she arrived in England.

The fame of an Indian princess excited great curiosity in London; and Smith had the address to write a handsome letter to the Queen, setting forth the merits of his friend, and the eminent services she had done to him and the colony of Virginia. She was introduced by the lady De la Warre; the Queen and royal family received her with much complacency, and she proved herself worthy of their notice and respect. At her first interview with Smith she called him father; and because he did not immediately return the salutation and call her child, she was so overcome with grief, that she hid her face and would not speak for sometime. She was ignorant of the ridiculous affectation which reigned in the court of James; which forbad Smith assuming the title of father, to the daughter of a King; and when informed of it she despised him; passionately declaring, that she loved him as a father, and had treated him as such in

her

her own country, and would be his child wherever she went. The same pedantic affectation caused her husband to be looked upon as an offender, for having, though a subject, invaded the mysterious rights of royalty in marrying above his rank. This marriage, however, proved beneficial to the colony, as her father had thereby become a friend to them, and when she came to England, he sent with her Uttamaccomac, one of his trusty counsellors; whom he enjoined to inquire for Smith, and tell him whether he was alive. Another order which he gave him was, to bring him the number of people in England; accordingly, on his landing at Plymouth, the obedient savage began his account by cutting a notch on a long stick for every person whom he saw; but soon grew tired of his employment, and at his return told Powhatan that they exceeded the number of leaves on the trees. A third command from his prince was, to see the God of England, and the King, Queen, and Princes, of whom Smith had told him so much; and when he met with Smith, he desired to be introduced to those personages. He had before this seen the King, but would not believe it; because

the person whom they pointed out to him had not given him any thing. "You gave Powhatan (said he to Smith) a white dog, but your King has given me nothing." Mr. Rolfe was preparing to return with his wife to Virginia, when she was taken ill and died at Gravesend; leaving an infant son, Thomas Rolfe, from whom are descended several families of note in Virginia, who hold their lands by inheritance from her.

Smith had conceived such an idea of the value and importance of the American continent, that he was fully bent on the business of plantation, rather than fishing and trading for furs. In this he agreed with his friend Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the few other active members of the council of Plymouth, but it had become an unpopular theme. One colony had been driven home from Sagadahock by the severity of the season and the deaths of their leaders. Men who were fit for the business were not easily to be obtained, those who had formerly been engaged were discouraged, and it required great strength of mind as well as liberality of purse, to set on foot another experiment. After much trouble in endeavouring to unite persons of opposite interests,

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terests, and stimulate those who had sustained former losses, to new attempts, he obtained one ship of two hundred tons, and another of fifty, with which he sailed in 1615. Having proceeded about one hundred and twenty leagues, they were separated in a storm; the smaller one commanded by Capt. Thomas Dermer pursued her voyage; but Smith having lost his masts was obliged to put back under a jury mast to Plymouth. There he put his stores on board a small bark of sixty tons, and thirty men, of whom sixteen were to assist him in beginning a new colony.

Meeting with an English pirate, his men would have had him surrender; but though he had only four guns, and the pirate thirty six, he disdained to yield. On speaking with her, he found the commander and some of the crew to be his old shipmates, who had run away with the ship from Tunis, and were in distress for provisions; they offered to put themselves under his command, but he rejected the proposal and went on his voyage. Near the Western Islands he fell in with two French pirates; his men were again thrown into a panic, and would have struck, but he threatened to blow up the ship, if they would

ant fight; and by firing a few running shot, he escaped them also. After this he was met by four French men of war, who had orders from their sovereign to seize pirates. He showed them his commission under the great seal; but they perfidiously detained him whilst they suffered his ship to escape in the night, and return to Plymouth. They knew his enterprising spirit, and were afraid of his making a settlement in New-England, so near to their colony of *Acadia*; and they suspected, or at least pretended to suspect, that he was the person who had broken up their fishery at Port Royal (which was really done by Captain Argal) the year before.

When their cruise was finished, they carried him to Rochelle; and notwithstanding their promises to allow him a share of the prizes which they had taken whilst he was with them, they kept him as a prisoner on board a ship at anchor. But a storm arising, which drove all the people below, he took the boat, with an half pike for an oar, thinking to make his escape in the night. The current was so strong that he drifted to sea, and was near perishing. By the turn of the tide he got ashore, on a marshy island, where some

fowlers

fowlers found him in the morning almost dead with cold and hunger. He gave them his boat to carry him to Rochelle, where he learned that the ship which had taken him, with one of her prizes, which was very rich, had been driven on shore in that storm, and lost, with her Captain and one half of the men.

Here he made his complaint to the judge of the Admiralty, and produced such evidence in support of his allegations, that he was treated with fair words; but it does not appear that he got any recompence. He met here and at Bourdeaux with many friends, both French and English, and at his return to England, published in a small quarto, an account of his two last voyages, with the depositions of the men who were in the ship when he was taken by the French. To this book he prefixed his map of New-England; and in it gave a description of the country, with its many advantages, and the proper methods of rendering it a valuable acquisition to the English dominions. When it was printed, he went all over the west of England, giving copies of it to all persons of note; and endeavouring to excite the nobility, gentry, and

merchants,

merchants, to engage with earnestness in the business of colonizing America. He obtained from many of them fair promises, and was complimented by the Plymouth company with the title of Admiral of New-England. But the former ill success of some too sanguine adventurers, had made a deep impression, and a variety of cross incidents, baffled all his attempts.

However, his experience and advice were of eminent service to others. The open frankness and generosity of his mind led him to give all the encouragement which he could to the business of fishing and planting in New-England; for which purpose, in 1622, he published a book, entitled, "New-England's Trials" some extracts from which are preserved by Purchas.* No man rejoiced more than himself in the establishment of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts.

When the news of the massacre of the Virginian planters by the Indians, 1622, arrived in England, Smith was all on fire to go over to revenge the insult. He made an offer to the company that if they would allow him one hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, with the necessary provisions and equipments, he would range the country, keep the natives in awe,

* Vol. v, p. 1837.

awe, protect the planters, and make discoveries, of the hitherto unknown parts of America; and for his own risque and pains would desire nothing but what he would "produce from the proper labour of the savages." On this proposal the company was divided; but the pusillanimous and avaricious party prevailed; and gave him this answer, "that the charges would be be too great; that their stock was reduced; that the planters ought to defend themselves; but, that if he would go at his own expense, they would give him *leave*, provided he would give them one half of the *pillage*." Such an answer could be received only with contempt.

When the King in 1624, instituted a commission for the reformation of Virginia, Smith, by desire of the commissioners, gave in a relation of his former proceedings in the colony, and his opinion and advice respecting the proper methods of remedying the defects in government, and carrying on the plantation with a prospect of success.* These with many

* Agreeably to Smith's advice to these commissioners, King Charles I. at his accession dissolved the company, in 1626, and reduced the colony under the immediate direction of the crown, appointing the governor and council, and ordering all patents and processes to issue in his own name.

ny other papers he collected and published, in 1627, in a thin folio, under the title of "The General History of Virginia, New-England, and the Sumer Isles." The narrative part is made up of journals and letters of those who were concerned with him in the plantation, intermixed with his own observations. His intimate friend, Mr. Purchas, had published most of them two years before in his "Pilgrims."

In 1629, at the request of Sir Robert Cotton, he published a history of the early part of his life, entitled, "The true Travels, Adventures and Observations of Capt. John Smith." This work is preserved intire, in the second volume of Churchill's collections, and from it, the former part of this account is compiled. In the conclusion he made some addition to the history of Virginia, Bermuda, New-England and the West Indies, respecting things which had come to his knowledge, after the publication of his general history. He stated the inhabitants of Virginia in 1628 at five thousand, and their cattle about the same number. Their produce was chiefly tobacco; but those few who attended to their gardens had all sorts of fruit and vegetables in great

abundance and perfection. From New-England, they received salted fish; but of fresh fish their own rivers produced enough, besides an infinite quantity of fowl; as their woods did of deer and other game. They had some new houses; but they cultivated the Indian corn, in preference to the European grain. Their plantations were scattered; some of their houses were palisaded; but they had no fortifications nor ordnance mounted.

His account of New-England is, that the country had been represented by adventurers from the west of England, as rocky, barren and desolate; but that, since his account of it had been published, the credit of it was so raised, that forty or fifty sail went thither annually on fishing and trading voyages. That nothing had been done to any purpose in establishing a plantation, till "about an hundred Brownists went to New-Plymouth; whose humorous ignorance caused them to endure a wonderful deal of misery, with infinite patience."

He then recapitulates the history of his American adventures in the following terms. "Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captain Smith: How first he planted

ed Virginia, and was set ashore with a hundred men in the wild woods; how he was taken prisoner by the savages, and by the King of Pamaunky tied to a tree to be shot to death; led up and down their country, to be shown for a wonder; fatted as he thought for a sacrifice to their idol, before whom they conjured three days, with strange dances and invocations; then brought before their Emperor Powhatan, who commanded him to be slain; how his daughter Pocahontas saved his life, returned him to James-town, relieved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty, to possess those large dominions; how he discovered all the several nations on the rivers falling into the bay of Chesapeak; how he was stung almost to death by the poisonous tail of a fish called a stingray; how he was blown up with gunpowder and returned to England to be cured.

"Also how he brought New England to the subjection of the kingdom of Great Britain; his fights with the pirates, left alone among French men of war, and his ship ran from him; his sea fights for the French against the Spaniards; their bad usage of him; how in France, in a little boat, he escaped

them

them, was driven all such a stormy night at sea by himself, when thirteen French ships were split or driven on shore by the isle of Rhee, the General and most of his men drowned; when God, to whom be all honor and praise, brought him safe on shore to the admiration of all who escaped; you may read at large in his general history of Virginia, the Somer islands and New England."

This was probably his last publication, for he lived but two years after. By a note in Josselyn's voyage, it appears that he died in 1631, at London, in the fifty second year of his age.

It would give singular pleasure to the compiler of these memoirs, if he could learn from any credible testimony, that Smith ever received any recompence for his numerous services and sufferings. The sense which he had of this matter, in 1627, shall be given in his own words. "I have spent five years, and more than five hundred pounds, in the service of Virginia and New England, and in neither of them have I one foot of land, nor the very house I built, nor the ground I digged with my own hands; but I see those countries shared before me by those who know them only by my descriptions."

XIII.

XIII. DE MONTS, POUTRINCOURT AND CHAMPLAIN.

AFTER the discovery of Canada, by Cartier, the French continued trading to that country for furs, and fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Acadia; where they found many excellent and convenient harbours, among which Canseau was early distinguished as a place extremely suitable for the fishery. One Savalet, an old mariner, who frequented that port, had before 1609 made no less than forty two voyages to those parts.*

Henry IV, King of France, perceived the advantages which might arise to his kingdom from a farther exploration of the northern parts of America; and therefore gave encouragement to those who were desirous of making adventures. In 1598, the Marquis DE LA ROCHE obtained a commission of Lord Lieutenant, and undertook a voyage with a view to establish a colony; consisting of convicts

* Purchas v. 1640.

victs taken out of the prisons. Happening in the course of his voyage to fall in with the isle of Sable, a low, sandy island, lying about twenty five leagues southward of Canseau, he there landed forty of his miserable crew, to subsist on the cattle and swine, with which the place had been stocked by the Portuguese, for the relief of shipwrecked seamen. The reason given for chusing this forlorn place, for the disembarkation of his colony, was, that they would be out of all danger from the savages, till he should find a better situation for them on the continent, when he promised to return and take them off. Whether he ever reached the continent is uncertain,* but he never again saw the isle of Sable. Returning to France, he engaged in the wars, was made a prisoner by the Duke of Merceur, and soon after died. The wretched exiles subsisted on such things as the place afforded, and clothed themselves with the skins of seals. At the end of seven years,† King Henry, in-

compassion,

* Forster says, that "he made in different parts of it, such researches as he thought necessary, and then returned to France." p. 448. Purchas says that "it was his fortune, by reason of contrary wind, not to find the main land, but was blown back to France." Vol. v, p. 1807.

† Purchas says twelve; this will bring it to the last year of Henry's life, 1610.

compaſſion, ſent a fiſherman to bring them home. Twelve only were then alive. The fiſherman, concealing from them the generous intention of their ſovereign, took all the ſkins which they had collected as a recompence for his ſervices, ſome of which being black foxes were of great value. The King had them brought before him in their ſeal ſkin habits and long beards. He pardoned their former crimes, and made each of them a preſent of fifty crowns. When they diſcovered the fraud of the fiſherman, they inſtituted a proceſs againſt him at law, and recovered large damages; by means of which they acquired ſo much property as to enter into the ſame kind of traffic.

The King alſo granted to PONTGRAVE DE CHAUVIN, an excluſive privilege of trading at Tadouſac, the mouth of the river Saguenay; to which place he made two voyages, and was preparing for a third when he was prevented by death.

The next voyager of any note was SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN, of Brouage; a man of a noble family; who, in 1603, ſailed up the river of Canada, as far as Cartier had gone in 1535. He made many inquiries of the natives con-

cerning

cerning their country, its rivers, falls, lakes, mountains and *mines*. The result of his inquiry was, that a communication was formed, by means of two lakes, with the country of the Iroquois toward the south; that toward the west there were more and greater lakes of fresh water, to one of which they knew no limits; and that to the northward there was an inland sea of salt water. In the course of this voyage, Champlain anchored at a place called *Quebeck*, which in the language of the country signified a strait; and this was thought to be a proper situation for a fort and settlement. He heard of no mines but one of copper, far to the northward. With this information he returned to France, in the month of September.

On the eighth of November in the same year King Henry granted to the Sieur DE MONTS, a gentleman of his bed chamber, a patent constituting him Lieutenant General of all the territory of *L'Acadia*, from the fortieth to the forty sixth degree of north latitude, with power to subdue the inhabitants and convert them to the Christian faith.* This patent

* See the patent, in French, in Hazard's Collection, vol. i. 45, and translated into English, in Churchill's Collections, vol. viii, p. 796.

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patent was published in all the maritime towns of France; and De Monts having equipped two vessels sailed for his new government on the seventh of March, 1604; taking with him the aforesaid Samuel Champlain for a pilot, and Monsieur DE POUTRINCOURT who had been for a long time desirous to visit America.

On the 6th of May, they arrived at a harbour on the S. E. side of the peninsula of Acadia where they found one of their countrymen, Rossignol, trading with the Indians without licence. They seized his ship and cargo; leaving him only the poor consolation, of giving his name to the harbour where he was taken; the provisions found in his ship were a seasonable supply, and without them the enterprize must have been abandoned. This place is now called Liverpool.

From Port Rossignol they coasted the peninsula to the S. W. and having doubled Cape Sable came to anchor in the bay of St. Mary, where Aubry, a priest, going ashore, was lost in the woods, and a protestant was charged with having murdered him, because they had sometimes had warm disputation on religious subjects. They waited for him several

al

al days, firing guns and sounding trumpets, but in vain; the noise of the sea was so great that no other sound could be heard. Concluding that he was dead, they quitted the place after sixteen days; intending to examine that extensive bay on the west of the peninsula to which they gave the name of La Baye Francoise; but which is now called the Bay of Funda. The priest was afterward found alive, but almost starved to death.

On the eastern side of this bay they discovered a narrow strait, into which they entered, and soon found themselves in a spacious bason, invironed with hills, from which descended streams of fresh water; and between the hills ran a fine navigable river, which they called L'Equille. It was bordered with fertile meadows, and full of delicate fish. Poutrincourt, charmed with the beauty of the place, determined here to take his residence, and having received a grant of it from De Monts, gave it the name of Port Royal. [Annapolis.]

From Port Royal, De Monts sailed farther into the great bay, to visit a copper mine. It was a high rock, on a promontory, between two bays. [Menis.] The copper, though

mixed with stone, was very pure, resembling that called Rozette copper. Among these stones they found chrystals and a certain shining stone of a blue colour. Specimens of these stones were sent to the King.

In farther examining the bay they came to a great river which they called St. John's; full of islands and swarming with fish. Up this river they sailed fifty leagues, and were extremely delighted with the vast quantity of grapes which grew on its banks. By this river they imagined that a shorter communication might be had with the Baye de Chaleur and the port of Tadousac, than by the sea.

From the river St. John they coasted the bay, southwesterly, till they came to an island in the middle of a river which Champlain had previously explored. Finding its situation safe and convenient, De Monts resolved there to build a fort and pass the winter. To this island he gave the name of St. Croix;* because

* This is a station of much importance. It has given rise to a controversy, between the United States and the British government, which is not yet terminated. I shall therefore give a description of this island and its surrounding waters, from a translation of *Mark Lescarbot's* history of the voyages of De Monts, in which he himself was engaged, and therefore had seen the place which he describes. This translation is to be found at large in Churchill's

cause that two leagues higher there were brooks which "came cross-wise to fall within this large branch of the sea."

The winter proved severe, and the people suffered so much by the scurvy, that thirty six of them died; the remaining forty, who were all sick, lingered till the spring (1605) when they recovered by means of the fresh vegetation. The remedy which Cartier had found in Canada was here unknown.

As

Churchill's Collections, vol. viii, 796, and an abridgement of it in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. v, 1619.

"Leaving St. John's river, they came, following the coast twenty leagues from that place, to *a great river*, which is properly *sea*, [i. e. salt water] where they fortified themselves in *a little island* seated in the midst of this river, which the said Champlain had been to discover and view. And, seeing it strong by nature, and of easy defence and keeping; besides that the season began to slide away, and therefore it was behoveful to provide of lodging, without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there.

"Before we speak of the ship's return to France, it is meet to tell you, how *hard* the isle of St. Croix is *to be found out*, to them that were never there. For there are so many isles and great bays to go by [from St. John's] before one be at it, that I wonder how one might ever pierce so far as to find it. There are *three or four mountains*, imminent above the others, *on the sides*; but on the *north side* from whence the river runneth down, there is but *a sharp pointed one, above two leagues distant*. The woods of the main land are fair and admirable high, and well grown, as in like manner is the grass. There is right *over against the island fresh water brooks*, very pleasant and agreeable; where

As soon as his men were recovered, De Monts resolved to seek a comfortable station in a warmer climate. Having victualled and manned his pinnace he sailed along the coast to Norombega, a name which had been given by some European adventurers to the bay of Penobscot; from thence he sailed to Kennebec, Casco, Saco, and finally came to Maldbarre, as Cape Cod was then called by the French.

where divers of Monf. De Monts men did their business, and builded there, certain cabbins. As for the nature of the ground it is most excellent, and most abundantly fruitful. For the said Monf. De Monts having caused there some piece of ground to be tilled, and the same sowed with rye; he was not able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it; and notwithstanding, the grain fallen hath grown and increased so wonderfully, that two years after, we reaped and did gather of it as fair, big and weighty as in France, which the soil hath brought forth without any tillage; and yet at this present [1609] it doth continue still to multiply every year.

"The said island containeth some *half a league in circuit*, and at the end of it, on the sea side, there is a mount, or *small hill*, which is, as it were, *a little isle, severed from the other*, where Monf. De Monts his cannon were placed. There is also a little chappel, built after the savage fashion. At the foot of which chappel there is such *store of muscles* as is wonderful, which may be gathered at low water, but they are small.

"Now let us prepare and hoist up sails. Monf. de Poutrincourt made the voyage into these parts, with some men of good sort, not to winter there; but as it were to seek out his seat, and find out a land that might like him. Which he having done, had no need to sojourne there any longer. So then, the ships being ready

French. In some of the places which he had passed, the land was inviting; and particular notice was taken of the grapes; but the savages appeared numerous, unfriendly and thievish: De Monts' company being small, he preferred safety to pleasure, and returned first to St. Croix, and then to Port Royal; where he found Dupont, in a ship from France, with fresh supplies and a reinforcement of

forty

ready for the return, he shipped himself, and those of his company in one of them.

"During the foresaid navigation, Mons. De Monts his people, did work about the *fort*; which he seated *at the end of the island*, opposite to the place where he had lodged his cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end *to command the river up and down*. But there was an inconvenience; the said fort did lie toward the north, and without any shelter, but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which all about he commanded to be kept and not cut down.

"The most urgent things being done, and hoary snowy father being come, that is to say winter, then they were forced to keep within doors, and to live every one at his own home. During which time, our men had three special discommodities, in this island, want of wood, (for that which was in the said isle was spent in buildings) *lack of fresh water*, and the continual watch made by night, fearing some surprize from the savages, that had lodged themselves, at the foot of the said island, or some other enemy. For the malediction and rage of many christians is such, that one must take heed of them much more than of infidels. When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to cross over the river, which is *thrice as broad of every side as the river of Seine*."

By

forty men. The stores which had been deposited at St. Croix were removed across the bay, but the buildings were left standing. New houses were erected at the mouth of the river, which runs into the bason of Port-Royal; there the stores and people were lodged; and De Monts having put his affairs in as good order as possible, in the month of September embarked for France; leaving Dupont as his lieutenant, with Champlain, and Champdore to perfect the settlement, and explore the country.

During the next winter they were plentifully supplied by the savages with venison, and a great trade was carried on for furs. Nothing is said of the scurvy; but they had short allowance of bread; not by reason of any scarcity of corn but because they had no other mill to grind it than the hand mill, which required

By a gentleman who resided several years in those parts, I have been informed, that an island which answers to this description, lies in the *eastern* part of the bay of Passamaquoddy; and there the river St. Croix was supposed to be, by the commissioners who negociated the peace in 1783, who had Mitchel's map before them; but, in a map of the coast of New England and Nova Scotia, published in London, 1787, by Robert Sayer, and said to be drawn by Capt. Holland, the river St. Croix is laid down at the *western* part of the bay; the breadth of which is about six or seven leagues.

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quired hard and continual labour. The savages were so averse to this exercise, that they preferred hunger to the task of grinding corn, though they were offered half of it in payment. Six men only died in the course of this winter.

In the spring of 1606, Dupont attempted to find what De Monts had missed, in the preceding year, a more southerly settlement. His bark was twice forced back with adverse winds; and the third time was driven on rocks and bilged at the mouth of the port. The men and stores were saved; but the vessel was lost. These fruitless attempts proved very discouraging; but Dupont employed his people, in building a bark and shallop; that they might employ themselves in visiting the ports, whither their countrymen resort to dry their fish, till new supplies should arrive.

De Monts and Poutrincourt were at that time in France, preparing, amidst every discouragement, for another voyage. On the thirteenth of May, they sailed from Rochelle, in a ship of one hundred and fifty tons; and on the 27th of July arrived at Port Royal, in the absence of Dupont, who had left two men only to guard the fort. In a few days

he

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he arrived, having met with one of their boats which they had left at Canseau, and great was the joy on both sides at their meeting.

Poutrincourt now began his plantation; and having cleared a spot of ground, within fifteen days he sowed European corn and several sorts of garden vegetables. But notwithstanding all the beauty and fertility of Port Royal, De Monts had still a desire to find a better place at the southward. He therefore prevailed on Poutrincourt to make another voyage to Cape Malebarre; and so earnest was he to have this matter accomplished, that he would not wait till the next spring, but prepared a bark to go to the the southward as soon as the ship was ready to sail.

On the 28th of August, the ship and the bark both sailed from Port Royal. In the ship De Monts and Dupont returned to France; whilst Poutrincourt, Champlain, Champdore and others crossed the bay to St. Croix, and thence sailed along the coast, touching at many harbours in their way, till they arrived in sight of the Cape, the object of their voyage. Being entangled among the shoals, their rudder was broken and they were obliged to come to anchor, at the distance of

three

three leagues from the land. The boat was then sent ashore to find a harbour of fresh water; which by the information of one of the natives was accomplished. Fifteen days were spent in this place; during which time, a cross was erected, and possession taken, for the King of France; as De Monts had done two years before at Kenebeck. When the bark was repaired and ready to sail, Poutrincourt took a walk into the country, whilst his people were baking bread. In his absence some of the natives visited his people and stole a hatchet. Two guns were fired at them, and they fled. In his return he saw several parties of the savages, male and female, carrying away their children and their corn; and hiding themselves, as he and his company passed. He was alarmed at this strange appearance; but much more so, when early the next morning a shower of arrows came flying among his people, two of whom were killed and several others wounded. The savages having taken their revenge, fled; and it was in vain to pursue them. The dead were buried at the foot of the cross; and whilst the funeral service was performing, the savages were dancing and yelling in mock

concert,

concert, at a convenient diſtance, but within hearing. When the French retired on board their bark, the ſavages took down the croſs, dug up the bodies and ſtripped them of their grave clothes, which they carried off in triumph.

This unhappy quarrel gave Poutrincourt a bad idea of the natives. He attempted to paſs farther round the cape; but was prevented by contrary winds; and forced back to the ſame harbour, where the ſavages offering to trade, ſix or ſeven of them were ſeized and put to death.

The next day another attempt was made to ſail farther; but the wind came againſt them. At the diſtance of ſix or ſeven leagues they diſcovered an iſland; but the wind would not permit them to approach it; they therefore gave it the name of Douteuſe, or Doubtful. This was probably either Nantucket or Capawock, now called Martha's Vineyard; and if ſo, the conteſt with the Indians was on the ſouth ſhore of Cape Cod; where are ſeveral harbours and ſtreams of freſh water. To the harbour where he lay, he gave the name of Port Fortune.

It

It was now late in the season and no prospect appeared of obtaining any better place for a settlement; besides, he had two wounded men whose lives were in danger. He therefore determined to return, which he did by the shortest and most direct course; and after a perilous voyage, in which the rudder was again broken, and the bark narrowly escaped shipwreck, he arrived at Port Royal on the 14th of November.

The manner in which they spent the third winter was social and festive. At the principal table, to which fifteen persons belonged, an order was established, by the name of *L'ordre de bon temps*. Every one took his turn to be caterer and steward, for one day, during which he wore the collar of the order and a napkin, and carried a staff. After supper he resigned his accoutrements, with the ceremony of drinking a cup of wine, to the next in succession. The advantage of this institution was, that each one was emulous to be prepared for his day; by previously hunting or fishing, or purchasing fish and game of the natives, who constantly resided among them, and were extremely pleased with their manners.

Four

Four only died in this winter; and it is remarked that these were "sluggish and fretful." The winter was mild and fair. On a Sunday in the middle of January, after divine service, they "sported and had music on the river;" and in the same month they went two leagues, to see their corn field, and dined cheerfully in the sunshine.

At the first opening of the spring (1607) they began to prepare gardens; the produce of which was extremely grateful; as were also the numberless fish which came into the river. They also erected a water mill, which not only saved them much hard labour, at the hand mill; but gave them more time for fishing. The fish which they took were called herrings and pilchards; of which they pickled several hogsheads to be sent home to France.

In April they began to build two barks, in which they might visit the ports, frequented by the fishermen, and learn some news from their mother country, as well as get supplies for their subsistence. Having no pitch to pay the seams, they were obliged to cut pine trees and burn them in kilns, by which means they obtained a sufficiency.

On

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On Ascension day, a vessel arrived from France, destined to bring supplies; a large share of which, the crew had ungenerously consumed in their voyage. The letters brought by this vessel informed them that the company of Merchants, associated with De Monts, was discouraged; and that their ship was to be employed in the fishery at Canseau. The reason of this proceeding was, that contrary to the King's edict, the Hollanders had intruded themselves into the fur trade, in the river of Canada; having been conducted by a treacherous Frenchman; in consequence of which, the King had revoked the exclusive privilege which he had given to De Monts for ten years. The avarice of these Hollanders was so great, that they had opened the graves of the dead, and taken the beaverskins in which the corpses had been buried. This outrage was so highly resented by the savages at Canseau, that they killed the person, who had shown the places where the dead were laid. This news was extremely unwelcome, as it portended the destruction of the colony.

Poutrincourt however was so well pleased with his situation, that he determined to re-

turn to it, though none but his own family ſhould accompany him. He was very deſirous to ſee the iſſue of his attempt at agriculture, and therefore detained the veſſel, as long as he could; and employed his bark in ſmall voyages, about the bay, to trade for furs, and gather ſpecimens of iron and copper to be tranſported to France. When they were all ready to ſail, he tarried eleven days longer than the others, that he might carry home the firſt fruits of his harveſt. Leaving the buildings, and part of the proviſion with the ſtanding corn, as a preſent to the friendly natives, he finally ſailed from Port Royal, on the 11th of Auguſt, and joined the other veſſels at Canſeau; from which place, they proceeded to France, where they arrived in the latter end of September.

Specimens of the wheat, rye, barley, and oats were ſhown to the King; which, with other productions of the country, animal and mineral, were ſo highly acceptable, that he renewed and confirmed to De Monts the privilege of trading for beavers; that he might have it in his power to eſtabliſh a colony. In conſequence of which, the next ſpring ſeveral families were ſent to renew the plantation,

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who found that the ſavages had gathered ſeven barrels of the corn which had been left ſtanding; and had reſerved one for their friends whom they expected to return.

The revocation of the excluſive patent given to De Monts, was founded on complaints, made by the maſters of fiſhing veſſels, that the branch of commerce in which they were engaged would be ruined. When this patent was reſtored, it was limited to one year; and on this condition, that he ſhould make an eſtabliſhment in the river St. Lawrence. De Monts therefore quitted his connexion with Acadia, and the company of Merchants, with whom he had been connected, fitted out two ſhips for the port of Tadouſac, in 1608. The fur trade was of very conſiderable value, and the company made great profits; but De Monts finding their intereſts hurt by his connexion with them, withdrew from the aſſociation.

Poutrincourt reſolving to proſecute his plantation at Port Royal, the grant of which had been confirmed, to him by the King, ſent Biencourt, his ſon, to France, (1608) for a ſupply of men and proviſions. One condition of the grant was, that attempts ſhould be made

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convert the natives to the Catholic faith, it was therefore necessary to engage the assistance of some ecclesiastics. The first who embraced the proposal were the Jesuits, by whose zealous exertions a contribution was soon made for the purpose; and two of their order, Biard and Masse, embarked for the new plantation. It was not long before a controversy arose between them and the proprietor, who said "it was his part to *rule* them them on earth, and theirs only to *guide* him to heaven."* After his departure for France, his son Biencourt, disdaining to be controled by those whom he had invited to reside with him, threatened them with corporal punishment, in return for their spiritual anathemas. It became necessary then that they should separate. The Jesuits removed to mount Desart, where they planted gardens and entered on the business of their mission, which they continued till 1613 or 1614; when Sir Samuel Argal from Virginia broke up the French settlements in Acadia. In the encounter one of these Jesuits was killed and the other was made prisoner. Of the other Frenchmen, some dispersed themselves in the woods and mixed with the savages

* Purchas v. 1808.

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ſavages; ſome went to the river St. Lawrence and ſtrengthened the ſettlement which Champlain had made there; and others returned to France.

Two advantages were expected to reſult from eſtabliſhing a colony in the river St. Lawrence: One was, an extenſion of the fur trade, and another was the hope of penetrating weſtward, though the lakes, to the Pacific Ocean, and finding a nearer communication with China. One of the veſſels ſent by the company of merchants, in 1608, to that river, was commanded by Champlain. In his former voyage he had marked the ſtrait above the Iſle of Orleans, as a proper ſituation for a fort; becauſe the river was there contracted in its breadth, and the northern ſhore was high and commanding. He arrived there in the beginning of July, and immediately began to clear the woods, to build houſes, and prepare fields and gardens. Here he ſpent the winter, and his company ſuffered much by the ſcurvy. The remedy which Cartier had uſed, was not to be found, or the ſavages knew nothing of it. It is ſuppoſed that the former inhabitants had been extirpated, and a new people held poſſeſſion.*

* Purchas v, 1642.

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In the ſpring of 1609, Champlain, with two other Frenchmen and a party of the natives, went up the river now called Sorel and entered the lakes, which lie toward the ſouth, and communicate with the country of the Iroquois. To the largeſt of theſe lakes Champlain gave his own name, which it has ever ſince retained. On the ſhore of another, which he called Lake Sacrament, now Lake George, they were diſcovered by a company of the Iroquois, with whom they had a ſkirmiſh. Champlain killed two of them with his muſquet. The ſcalps of fifty were taken and brought to Quebeck in triumph.

In the autumn, Champlain went to France, leaving Capt Pierre to command; and in 1610 he returned to Quebeck, to perfect the colony, of which he may conſidered as the founder.

After the death of Henry IV, he obtained of the Queen Regent, a commiſſion as Lieutenant of New-France, with very extenſive powers. This commiſſion was confirmed by Lewis XIII; and Champlain was continued in the Government of Canada.

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The religious controverſies, which prevailed in France, augmented the number of coloniſts. A ſettlement was made at Trois Rivieres, and a briſk trade was carried on at Tadouſac. In 1626, Quebeck began to aſſume the face of a city, and the fortreſs was rebuilt with ſtone; but the people were divided in their religious principles and the Hugonot party prevailed.

In this divided ſtate, (1629) the colony was attacked by an armament from England under the conduct of Sir David Kirk. He ſailed up the river St. Lawrence and appeared before Quebeck, which was then ſo miſerably ſupplied, that they had but ſeven ounces of bread to a man for a day. A ſquadron from France, with proviſion for their relief, entered the river; but, after ſome reſiſtance, were taken by the Engliſh. This diſappointment increaſed the diſtreſs of the colony and obliged Champlain to capitulate. He was carried to France in an Engliſh ſhip; and there found the minds of the people divided, with regard to Canada; ſome thinking it not worth regaining, as it had coſt the government vaſt ſums, without bringing any return; others deeming the

the fishery and fur trade to be great national objects, especially as they proved to be a nursery for seamen. These sentiments, supported by the solicitation of Champlain, prevailed; and by the treaty of St. Germain's, in 1632, Canada, Acadia and Cape Breton were restored to France.

The next year Champlain resumed his government, and the company of New France were restored to their former rights and privileges. A large recruit of inhabitants, with a competent supply of Jesuits, arrived from France; and with some difficulty a mission was established among the Hurons; and a seminary of the order was begun at Quebeck. In the midst of this prosperity Champlain died, in the month of December, 1635; and was succeeded the next year by De Montmagny.

Champlain is characterized as a man of good sense, strong penetration and upright views; volatile, active, enterprizing, firm and valiant. He aided the Hurons in their wars with the Iroquois, and personally engaged in their battles; in one of which he was wounded. His zeal for the propagation of the Catholic religion was so great that it was a common

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common ſaying with him, that "the ſalvation of one ſoul was of more value than the conqueſt of an empire."*

* Charlevoix Hiſt. Nouvelle, France, Tom. i, p. 197, 4to.

XIV. FERDINANDO

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XIV. FERDINANDO GORGES.

AND

JOHN MASON.

WE know nothing concerning Gorges in the early part of his life.* The first account we have of him, is the discovery which he made of a plot which the earl of Essex had laid to overthrow the government of Queen Elizabeth, the tragical issue of which is too well known to be here repeated. Gorges, who had been privy to the conspiracy at first, communicated his knowledge of it to Sir Walter Raleigh, his intimate friend, but the enemy and rival of Essex.†

There was not only an intimacy between Raleigh and Gorges, but a similarity in their genius and employment; both were formed for intrigue and adventure; both were indefatigable in the prosecution of their sanguine projects; and both were naval commanders.

During the war with Spain, which occupied the last years of Queen Elizabeth, Gorges, with other adventurous spirits, found full employment

* In Josselyn's voyage he is called "Sir F. G. of Ashton Phillips, in Somerset." p. 197.

† Hume.

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ployment in the navy of their mistress. When the peace, which her successor, James I, made in 1604, put an end to their hopes of honor and fortune by military enterprizes, Sir Ferdinando was appointed Governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. This circumstance, by which the spirit of adventure might seem to have been repressed, proved the occasion of its breaking out with fresh ardour, though in a pacific and mercantile form, connected with the rage for foreign discoveries, which after some interruption, had again seized the English nation.

Lord Arundel, of Wardour, had employed a Captain Weymouth in search of a northwest passage to India. This navigator having mistaken his course, fell in with a river on the coast of America, which, by his description, must have been either Kenebeck, or Penobscot. From thence he brought to England, five of the natives, and arrived in the month of July, 1605, in the harbour of Plymouth, where Gorges commanded, who immediately took three of them into his family. Their names were Manida, Sketwarroes and Tasquantum; they were all of one language, though not of the same tribe. This accident

proved

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proved the occaſion, under God's providence, of preparing the way for a more perfect diſcovery than had yet been made of this part of North-America.

Having gained the affections of theſe ſavages by kind treatment, he found them very docile and intelligent; and from them he learned by inquiry, many particulars concerning their country, its rivers, harbours, iſlands, fiſh and other animals; the numbers, diſpoſition, manners and cuſtoms of the natives; their government, alliances, enemies, force and methods of war. The reſult of theſe inquiries ſerved to feed a ſanguine hope of indulging his genius and advancing his fortune by a more thorough diſcovery of the country.

His chief aſſociate in this plan of diſcovery, was Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, who, by his acquaintance with divers noblemen, and by their intereſt at court, obtained from King James a patent for making ſettlements in America, which was now divided into two diſtricts, and called North and South Virginia. The latter of theſe diſtricts was put under the care of certain noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who

were

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were ſtyled the London Company; the former under the direction of others in Briſtol, Exeter and Plymouth, who were called the Plymouth Company, becauſe their meetings were uſually held there.

By the joint efforts of this company, of which Popham and Gorges were two of the moſt enterpriſing members; a ſhip, commanded by Henry Chalong, was fitted out, and ſailed in Auguſt, 1606, for the diſcovery of the country, from which the ſavages had been brought, and two of them were put on board. The orders given to the maſter, were to keep in as high a latitude as Cape Breton, till he ſhould diſcover the main land, and then to range the coaſt ſouthward, till he ſhould find the place from which the natives had been taken. Inſtead of obſerving theſe orders, the Captain falling ſick on the paſſage, made a ſouthern courſe, and firſt arrived at the iſland of Porto Rico, where he tarried ſome time for the recovery of his health; from thence coming northwardly, he fell in with a Spaniſh fleet from the Havannah, by whom the ſhip was ſeized and carried to Spain.

Captain Prynne, in another ſhip, which ſailed from Briſtol, with orders to find Chalong,

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long, and join with him in a ſurvey of the coaſt, had better ſucceſs; for though he failed of meeting his conſort, yet he carried home a particular account of the coaſts, rivers, and harbours, with other information relative to the country, which made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the company, as to ſtrengthen their reſolution of proſecuting their enterprize.

It was determined to ſend over a large number of people ſufficient to begin a colony. For this purpoſe George Popham was appointed preſident; Raleigh Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlon, maſter of ordnance; Robert Davis, ſerjeant major; Elis Beſt, marſhal; Mr. Seaman, ſecretary; James Davis, commander of the fort; Gome Carew, ſearcher. All theſe were to be of the council; and beſides theſe, the colony conſiſted of 100 men, who were ſtyled planters. They ſailed from Plymouth in two ſhips (May 31, 1607) and having fallen in with the iſland of Monahigon (Auguſt 11,) landed at the mouth of Sagadahock, or Kenebeck river, on a peninſula, where they erected a ſtore houſe, and having fortified it as well as their circumſtances would admit, gave it the name of Fort St. George.

By

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By means of two natives, whom they brought with them from England, viz. Sketwarroes, ſent by Gorges, and Dehamida, by Popham, they found a cordial welcome among the Indians, their ſachems offering to conduct and introduce them to the Baſhaba or great chief, whoſe reſidence was at Penobſcot, and to whom, it was expected, that all ſtrangers ſhould make their addreſs.*

The Preſident having received ſeveral invitations, was preparing to comply with their requeſt, and had advanced ſome leagues on his way, but contrary winds, and bad weather, obliged him to return, to the great grief of the ſachems, who were to have attended him. The Baſhaba hearing of the diſappointment, ſent his ſon to viſit the Preſident, and ſettle a trade for furs.

The ſhips departed for England, in December, leaving behind them only 45 perſons of the new colony. The ſeaſon was too far advanced

* The Baſhaba of Penobſcot, was a prince, ſuperior in rank to the ſachems of the ſeveral Tribes. All the ſachems, weſtward, as far as Naumkeeg [Salem] acknowledged ſubjection to him. He is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the firſt voyages to New-England; but was killed by the Tarrateans in 1615, before any effectual ſettlement was made in the country. We have no account of any other Indian chief in theſe northern parts of America, whoſe authority was ſo extenſive.

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advanced before their arrival to begin planting for that year, if there had been ground prepared for tillage. They had to subsist on the provisions which they had brought from England, and the fish and game which the country afforded. The severity of an American winter was new to them; and though it was observed, that the same winter was uncommonly severe in England, yet that circumstance being unknown, could not alleviate their distress. By some accident, their store house took fire, and was consumed, with the greater part of their provisions, in the middle of the winter; and in the spring (1608) they had the additional misfortune to lose their President, Captain Popham, by death. The ship, which their friends in England had by their united exertions sent over with supplies, arrived a few days after, with the melancholy news of the death of Sir John Popham, which happened while she lay waiting for a wind at Plymouth. The command of the colony now devolved on Gilbert, but the next ship brought an account of the death of his brother Sir John Gilbert, which obliged him to return to England, to take care of the estate to which he

succeeded.

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ſucceeded. Theſe repeated misfortunes and diſappointments, operating with the diſguſt which the new coloniſts had taken to the climate and ſoil, determined them to quit the place. Accordingly, having embarked with their Preſident, they returned to England, carrying with them, as the fruit of their labour, a ſmall veſſel, which they had built during their reſidence here, and thus the firſt colony, which was attempted in New England, began and ended in one year.

The country was now branded as intolerably cold, and the body of the adventurers relinquiſhed the deſign. Sir Francis Popham, indeed, employed a ſhip for ſome ſucceeding years in the fiſhing and fur trade; but he, at length, became content with his loſſes, and none of this company but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had the reſolution to ſurmount all diſcouragements. Though he ſincerely lamented the loſs of his worthy friend, the Chief Juſtice, who had zealouſly joined with him, in theſe hitherto fruitleſs, but expenſive labours, yet, "as to the coldneſs of the clime (he ſays) he had too much experience in the world, to be frighted with ſuch a blaſt, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories

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more northerly stand, and by many degrees colder, were plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities than these parts afford, if like industry, art and labour, be used."

Such persevering ardor in the face of so many discouragements, must be allowed to discover a mind formed for enterprize, and fully persuaded of the practicability of the undertaking.

When he found that he could not be seconded in his attempts for a thorough discovery of the country, by others, he determined to carry it on by himself; and for this purpose he purchased a ship, and engaged with a master and crew to go to the coast of New England for the purpose of fishing and traffic, the only inducement which seafaring people could have to undertake such a voyage. On board this ship he put RICHARD VINES, and several others of his own servants in whom he placed the fullest confidence and whom he hired at a great expense to stay in the country, over the winter, and pursue the discovery of it. These persons having left the ship's company to follow their usual occupation on the coast, travelled into the land, and meeting with

with the savages, who had before returned to America, by their assistance became acquainted with such particulars as Gorges wished to know.

Mr. Vines and his companions were received by the Indians with great hospitality, though their residence among them was rendered hazardous; both by a war which raged among them, and by a pestilence which accompanied or succeeded it.

This war and pestilence are frequently spoken of by the historians of New England, as remarkable events, in the course of Providence, which prepared the way for the establishment of an European colony. Concerning the war, we know nothing more than this; that it was begun by the Tarratenes, a nation who resided eastward of Penobscot. These formidable people surprized the Bashaba, or chief sachem, at his head quarters, and destroyed him with all his family; upon which all the other sachems who were subordinate to him, quarrelled among themselves for the sovereignty: and in these dissensions many of them as well as of their unhappy people perished. Of what particular kind the

pestilence was, we have no certain* information; but it seems to have been a disorder peculiar to the Indians, for Mr. Vines, and his companions, who were intimately conversant with them, and frequently lodged in their wigwams, were not in the least degree affected by it, though it swept off the Indians at such a prodigious rate, that the living were not able to bury the dead, and their bones were found several years after, lying about the villages where they had resided. The extent of this pestilence was between Penobscot in the east, and Narraganset in the west. These two tribes escaped, whilst the intermediate people were wasted and destroyed.

The information which Vines obtained for Sir Ferdinando, though satisfactory, in one view, produced no real advantage proportionate to the expense. Whilst he was deliberating by what means he should farther prosecute his plan of colonization, Capt. Henry Harley, who had been one of the unfortunate adventurers to Sagadahock, came to him, bringing

* Mr. Gookin says, that he "had discoursed with some old Indians who were then youths, who told him, that the bodies of the sick were all over exceeding *yellow*, (which they described by pointing to a yellow garment) both before they died and afterward." See Collections of Historical Society for 1792. p. 148.

bringing a native of the Island Capawock, now called Martha's Vineyard, who had been treacherously taken from his own country by one of the fishing ships and shown in London as a sight. Gorges received this savage, whose name was Epenow, with great pleasure: and about the same time recovered Assacumet, one of those who had been sent in the unfortunate voyage of Captain Chalong. These two Indians at first, scarcely understood each other; but, when they had grown better acquainted, Assacumet informed his old master of what he had learned from Epenow concerning his country. This artful fellow had invented a story of a *mine of gold* in his native island which he supposed would induce some adventurer to employ him as a pilot, by which means he hoped to get home, and he was not disappointed in his expectation.

Gorges had engaged the Earl of Southampton, then commander of the Isle of Wight, to advance one hundred pounds, and Capt. Hobson another hundred, and also to go on the discovery. With this assistance, Harley sailed in June 1614, carrying with him several land soldiers and the two before mentioned Indians, with a third named Wanapé, who

had been sent to Gorges from the Isle of Wight. On the arrival of the ship, she was soon piloted to the island of Capawock, and to the harbour where Epenow was to perform his promise. The principal inhabitants of the place, with some of his own kinsmen, came on board, with whom he held a conference and contrived his escape. They departed, promising to return the next day with furs for traffick. Epenow had pretended that if it were known, that he had discovered the secrets of his country, his life would be in danger, but the company were careful to watch him; and to prevent his escape, had dressed him in long clothes, which could easily be laid hold of, if there should be occasion. His friends appeared the next morning in twenty canoes, and lying at a distance, the Captain called to them to come on board, which they declining, Epenow was ordered to renew the invitation. He, mounting the forecastle, hailed them as he was directed, and at the same instant, though one held him by the coat, yet being strong and heavy, he jumped into the water. His countrymen then advanced to receive him, and sent a shower of arrows into the ship, which so disconcerted

the

the crew, that the prisoner completely effected his escape. Thus the golden dream vanished, and the ship returned without having performed any services adequate to the expense of her equipment.

The Plymouth company were much discouraged by the ill success of this adventure; but the spirit of emulation between them and the London company proved very serviceable to the cause in which they were jointly engaged. For these having sent our four ships under the command of Michael Cooper, to South Virginia, [January, 1615] and Captain John Smith, who had been employed by that company, having returned to England, and engaged with the company at Plymouth, their hopes revived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in concert with Dr. Sutliffe, Dean of Exeter, and several others, equipped two vessels, one of two hundred, the other of 50 tons, on board of which (besides the compliment of seamen) were sixteen men who were destined to begin a colony in New England. [March, 1615] When they had sailed one hundred and twenty leagues, the large ship lost her masts, and sprung a leak; which obliged them to put back under jury masts to Plymouth. From

thence Smith sailed again [June 24] in a bark of sixty tons, carrying the same sixteen men; but on this second voyage, was taken by four French men of war, and carried to France. The vessel of fifty tons, which had been separated from him, pursued her voyage, and returned in safety; but the main design of the voyage, which was to effect a settlement, was frustrated.

The same year (October) Sir Richard Hawkins, by authority of the Plymouth company, of which he was President for that year, visited the coast of New England, to try what services he could do them in searching the country, and its commodities; but on his arrival, finding the natives engaged in war, he passed along the coast to Virginia, and from thence returned to England, by the way of Spain, where he disposed of the fish, which he had taken in the voyage.

After this, ships were sent every season by the London and Plymouth Companies on voyages of profit; their fish and furs came to a good market in Europe, but all the attempts which were made to colonize North Virginia, by some unforeseen accidents failed of success. Gorges, however, had his mind still invariably

bent

bent on his original plan, and every incident which seemed to favour his views, was eagerly improved for that purpose. Being possessed of the journals and letters of the several voyagers, and of all the information which could be had, and being always at hand, to attend the meetings of the Company, he contrived to keep alive their hopes, and was the prime mover in all their transactions.

About this time Captain Thomas Dermer, who had been employed in the American fishery, and had entered fully into the same views; offered his service to assist in prosecuting the discovery of the country. He was at Newfoundland, and Gorges prevailed on the company, to send Captain Edward Rocraft, in a ship, to New England, with orders to wait there till he should be joined by Dermer. Rocraft, on his arrival, met with a French interloper, which he seized, and then sailed with his prize to South Virginia. In the mean time Dermer went to England, and having conferred with Gorges and the company, on the intended discovery, went over in a ship, which Gorges himself owned, hoping to meet with Rocraft, but was much perplexed at not finding him.

Having

Having ranged and examined every part of the coast, and made many useful observations, which he transmitted to Gorges, he shaped his course for Virginia,* where Rocraft had been killed in a quarrel, and his bark sunk: Dermer being thus disappointed of his consort, and of his expected supplies, returned to the northward. At the island of Capawock, he met with Epenow, who knowing him to be employed by Gorges, and suspecting that his errand was to bring him back to England, conspired with his countrymen, to seize him and his companions, several of whom were killed in the fray: Dermer defended himself with his sword, and escaped, though not without fourteen wounds, which obliged him to go again to Virginia, where he died. The loss of this worthy man, was the most discouraging circumstance which Gorges had met with, and as he himself expresses it, "made him almost resolve never to intermeddle again in any of these courses." But he had in fact so deeply engaged in them, and had so many persons engaged with him, that he could not retreat with honour, whilst any hope

* It is said that he was the first who passed the whole extent of Long Island Sound, and discovered that it was not connected with the continent. This was in 1619.

hope of success remained. Soon after this, a prospect began to open from a quarter, where it was least expected.

The patent of 1606, which divided Virginia into two colonies, expressly provided that neither company should begin any plantation within one hundred miles of the other. By this interdiction the middle region of North America was neglected, and a bait was laid to attract the attention of foreigners.

The adventurers to South Virginia had prohibited all who were not free of their company from planting or trading within their limits; the northern company had made no such regulation; by this means it happened that the South Virginia ships could fish on the northern coast, whilst the other company were excluded from all privileges in the southern parts. The South Virginians had also made other regulations in the management of their business, which the northern company were desirous to intimate. They thought the most effectual way to do this, was to procure an exclusive patent. With this view, Gorges, ever active to promote the interest which he had espoused, solicited of the crown a new charter, which, by the interest of his friends in

court,

court, was after some delay obtained. By this instrument forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen, were incorporated by the style of "the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America." The date of the charter was November 3, 1620. The territory subject to their jurisdiction was from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude, and from sea to sea. This charter is the foundation of all the grants which were made of the country of New England.

Before this division was made, a number of families, who were styled *Puritans*, on account of their seeking a farther reformation of the Church of England, which they could not obtain, and who had retired into Holland to avoid the severity of the penal laws against dissenters, meditated a removal to America. The Dutch were fond of retaining them as their subjects, and made them large offers, if they would settle in some of their transmarine territories; but they chose rather to reside in the dominions of their native prince, if they could have liberty of conscience. They had, by their agents, negociated with the South Virginia company, and obtained a permission

to

to transport themselves to America within their limits; but as to the liberty of conscience, though they could obtain no indulgence from the crown under hand and seal, yet it was declared, that "the King would connive at them, provided they behaved peaceably." As this was all the favour which the spirit of the times would allow, they determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence, and venture to America. After several disasters, they arrived at Cape Cod in the 42d degree of north latitude, a place remote from the object of their intention, which was Hudson's river. The Dutch had their eye on that place and bribed their pilot not to carry them thither. It was late in the season when they arrived; their permission from the Virginia company was of no use here; and having neither authority nor form of government, they were obliged for the sake of order, before they disembarked, to form themselves into a body politic, by a written instrument. This was the beginning of the colony of New-Plymouth; and this event happened (Nov. 11, 1620) a few days after King James had signed the patent for incorporating the council. These circumstances

served

served the interest of both, though then wholly unknown to each other. The council, being informed of the establishment of a colony within their limits, were fond of taking them into their protection; and the colony were equally desirous of receiving that protection as far as to obtain a grant of territory. An agent being dispatched by the colony to England, Sir F. Googes interested himself in the affair, and a grant was accordingly made (1623) to John Peirce, in trust for the colony. This was their first patent; they afterwards (1629) had another made to William Bradford and his associates.

One end which the council had in view, was, to prevent the access of unauthorized adventurers to the coast of New-England. The crews of their ships, in their intercourse with the natives, being far from any established government, were guilty of great licentiousness. Besides drunkenness, and debauchery, some flagrant enormities had been committed, which not only injured the reputation of Europeans, but encouraged the natives to acts of hostility. To remedy these evils, the council thought proper to appoint an officer to exercise government on the coast. This first

person

person who was sent in this character, was Capt. Francis West, who finding the fishermen too independent and robust to be controlled by him, soon gave up this ineffectual command. They next appointed Capt. Robert Gorges, a son of Sir Ferdinando. He was like his father, of an active and enterprizing genius, and had newly returned from the Venetian war. He obtained of the council a patent for a tract of land on the northeastern side of Massachusetts Bay, containing thirty miles in length and ten in breadth, and by the influence of his father, and of his kinsman Lord Edward Gorges, he was dispatched with a commission to be "*Lieutenant General and Governour of New England.*" They appointed for his council the aforesaid West, with Christopher Levet, and the Governour of New Plymouth for the time being. Gorges came to Plymouth in 1623, published his commission, and made some efforts to execute it. He brought over with him as a Chaplain, William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman. This was the first essay for the establishment of a *General Government* in New England, and Morrel was to have a superintendence in ecclesiastical, as Gorges had in civil affairs; but

he

he made no use of his commission at Plymouth; and only mentioned it in his conversation about the time of his departure.* This general government was a darling object with the council of Plymouth, but was much dreaded by the planters of New England; however, all the attempts which were made to carry it into execution failed of success. Gorges, after about a year's residence in the country, and holding one court at Plymouth, upon a Mr. Weston, who had begun a plantation at Wessagusset, [Weymouth] where Gorges himself intended a settlement, was recalled to England, the supplies

* This Morrell appears to have been a diligent inquirer into the state and circumstances of the country, its natural productions and advantages, the manners, customs, and government of the natives; the result of his observations he wrought into a poem which he printed both in Latin and English. The Latin is by no means destitute of classical merit, of which the following lines may serve as an evidence.

"Est locus occiduo procul hinc spatiosus in orbe
Plurima regna tenens, populisque incognitus ipsis:
Felix frugiferis sulcis, simul æquore felix,
Prædis perdives variis, & flumine dives,
Axe satis calidus, rigidoque a frigore tutus."

The description itself is just and animated, and the English translation (considering the date of it) is very tolerable. It is printed in the collections of the Historical Society, for 1792, page 129.

ſupplies which he expected to have received having failed. This failure was owing to one of thoſe croſs accidents which continually befel the Council of Plymouth. Though the erection of this board was really beneficial to the nation, and gave a proper direction to the ſpirit of colonizing, yet they had to ſtruggle with the oppoſing intereſts of various ſorts of perſons.

The company of South Virginia, and indeed the mercantile intereſt in general, finding themſelves excluded from the privilege of fiſhing and traffic, complained of this inſtitution as a monopoly. The commons of England were growing jealous of the royal prerogative; and wiſhing to reſtrain it; the granting charters of incorporation with excluſive advantages of commerce was deemed a uſurpation on the rights of the people. Complaints were firſt made to the King in council; but no diſpoſition appeared there to countenance them. It happened however, that a parliament was called for ſome other purpoſes (February 1624) in which Sir Edward Cook was choſen ſpeaker of the commons. He was well known as an advocate for the liberties of the people, and an enemy to pro-

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jectors. The King was at first in a good humour with his parliament, and advantage was taken of a demand for subsidies to bring in a bill against monopolies.

The house being resolved into a committee, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was called to the bar, where the speaker informed him, that the patent granted to the council of Plymouth was complained of as a grievance; that under colour of planting a colony, they were pursuing private gains: that though they respected him as a person of worth and honour, yet the public interest was to be regarded before all personal considerations; and therefore they required that the patent be delivered to the house. Gorges answered, that he was but one of the company, inferior in rank and abilities, to many others; that he had no power to deliver it, without their consent, neither in fact, was it in his custody. Being asked where it was, he said, it was for aught he knew, still remaining in the crown-office, where it had been left for the amendment of some errors. As to the general charge he answered; that he knew not how it could be a public *grievance*; since it had been undertaken for the advancement of religion, the enlargement of

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the bounds of the nation, the increase of trade, and the employment of many thousands of people; that it could not be a *monopoly*; for though a few only were interested in the business, it was because many could not be induced to adventure where their losses at first were sure, and their gains uncertain; and, indeed, so much loss had been sustained that most of the adventurers themselves were weary; that as to the profit arising from the fishery it was never intended to be converted to private use, as might appear by the offers which they had made to all the maritime cities in the West of England; that the grant of exclusive privileges made by the crown, was intended to regulate and settle plantations, by the profits arising from the trade, and was in effect no more than many gentlemen and lords of manors in England enjoyed without offence. He added, that he was glad of an opportunity for such a parliamentary inquiry, and if they would take upon themselves the business of colonization, he and his associates would be their humble servants as far as lay in their power, without any retrospect to the vast expense which they had already incurred in discovering and taking pos-

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ſeſſion of the country, and bringing matters to their then preſent ſituation. He alſo deſired, that if any thing further was to be inquired into, it might be given him in detail; with liberty of anſwering by his council.

A committee was appointed to examine the patent and make objections; which were delivered to Gorges; accompanied with a declaration from the ſpeaker that he ought to look upon this as a favour. Gorges having acknowledged the favour, employed council to draw up anſwers to the objections. His council were Mr. (afterwards Lord) Finch, and Mr. Caltrup, afterwards attorney general to the court of wards. Though in cauſes where the crown and parliament are concerned as parties, council are often afraid of wading deeper than they can ſafely return; yet Gorges was ſatisfied with the conduct of his council, who fully anſwered the objections, both in point of *Law* and *Juſtice*; theſe anſwers being read, the houſe aſked what further he had to ſay, upon which he added ſome obſervations in point of *Policy*, to the following effect:

That the adventurers had been at great coſt and pains to enlarge the King's dominions; to employ many ſeamen, handicraftsmen, and labourers;

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labourers; to settle a flourishing plantation, and advance religion in those savage countries; matters of the highest consequence to the nation, and far exceeding all the advantage which could be expected from a simple course of fishing, which must soon have been given over; for that so valuable a country, could not long remain unpossessed either by the French, Spaniards, or Dutch; so that if the plantations were to be given up, the fishery must inevitably be lost, and the honour, as well as interest of the nation, greatly suffer; that the mischief already done by the persons who were foremost in their complaints was intolerable; for, in their disorderly intercourse with the savages, they had been guilty of the greatest excesses of debauchery and knavery, and in addition to all these immoralities, they had furnished them with arms and ammunition; by which they were enabled to destroy the peaceable fishermen, and had become formidable enemies to the planters.

He further added, that he had, in zeal for the interest of his country, deeply engaged his own estate, and sent one of his sons to the American coast; besides encouraging many of his friends to go thither; this he hoped would

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be an apology for his earneſtneſs in this plea, as if he had ſhewn leſs warmth it might have been conſtrued into negligence and ingratitude.

Theſe pleas however earneſt and rational, were to no purpoſe. The parliament preſented to the King the grievances of the nation, and the patent for New-England was the firſt on the liſt. Gorges, however, had taken care that the King ſhould be previouſly acquainted with the objections and anſwers; and James was ſo jealous of his prerogative, that though he gave his aſſent to a declaratory act againſt monopolies in general, yet he would not recal the patent. However, in deference to the voice of the nation, the council thought fit to ſuſpend their operations. This proved for a while, diſcouraging to the ſpirit of adventure and occaſioned the recalling Robert Gorges from his government.

But the parliament having proceeded with more freedom and boldneſs in their complaints, than ſuited the feelings of James, he diſſolved them in haſte, before they could proceed to meaſures for remedying the diſorders in church and ſtate, which had been the

ſubject

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ſubject of complaint; and ſome of the more liberal ſpeakers were committed to priſon. This ſerved to damp the ſpirit of reformation, and prepared the way for another colony of emigrants to New-England.

About the ſame time, the French ambaſſador put in a claim in behalf of his court to theſe territories, to which Gorges was ſummoned to anſwer before the King and council, which he did in ſo ample and convincing a manner, that the claim was for that time ſilenced. Gorges then, in the name of the Council of Plymouth, complained of the Dutch, as intruders on the Engliſh poſſeſſions in America, by making a ſettlement on Hudſon's river. To this, the States made anſwer, that if any ſuch things had been done, it was without their order, as they had only erected a company for the Weſt Indies. This anſwer, made the council reſolve to proſecute their buſineſs and remove theſe intruders.

Hitherto Gorges appears in the light of a zealous, indefatigable and unſucceſsful adventurer; but neither his labours, expenſe, nor ill ſucceſs were yet come to a concluſion.

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To entertain a just view of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, we must consider him both as a member of the Council of Plymouth, pursuing the general interest of American plantations; and at the same time as an adventurer, undertaking a settlement of his own, in a particular part of the territory which was subject to the jurisdiction of the council. Having formed an intimacy with Capt. John Mason, Governour of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants, who was also a member of the council; and having (1622) jointly with him procured from the council, a grant of a large extent of country, which they called *Laconia*, extending from the river Merrimack to Sagadahock, and from the ocean to the lakes and river of Canada, they indulged sanguine expectation of success. From the accounts given of the country by some romantic travellers, they had conceived an idea of it as a kind of terrestrial paradise, not merely *capable* of producing all the necessaries and conveniencies of life but as already richly furnished by the bountiful hand of nature. The air was said to be pure and salubrious; the country pleasant and delightful, full of goodly forests, fair vallies, and fertile plains; abounding in vines, chesnuts, walnuts, and

many

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many other ſorts of fruit; the rivers ſtored with fiſh and environed with goodly meadows full of timber trees. In the great lake,* it was ſaid, were four iſlands, full of pleaſant woods and meadows, having great ſtore of ſtags, fallow deer, elks, roebucks, beavers and other game; and theſe iſlands were ſuppoſed to be commodiouſly ſituate for habitation and traffic, in the midſt of a fine lake, abounding with the moſt delicate fiſh. This lake was thought to be leſs than 100 miles diſtant from the ſea coaſt; and there was ſome ſecret expectation that mines and precious ſtones, would be the reward of their patient and diligent attention to the buſineſs of diſcovery. Such were the charms of Laconia!

It has been before obſerved that Gorges had ſent over Richard Vines, with ſome others, on a diſcovery, to prepare the way for a colony. The place which Vines pitched upon, was at the mouth of the river Saco. Some years after, another ſettlement was made on the river of Agamenticus, by Francis Norton, whom Gorges ſent over with a number of other people, having procured for them a patent of 12,000 acres on the eaſt ſide of the river, and 12,000 more, on the weſt ſide;

* Lake Champlain.

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ſide; his ſon Ferdinando Gorges being named as one of the grantees; this was the beginning of the town of York. Norton was a Lieutenant Colonel, and had raiſed himſelf to that rank from a common ſoldier, by his own merit. In this company were ſeveral artificers, who were employed in building ſaw mills, and they were ſupplied with cattle and other neceſſaries for the buſineſs of getting lumber.

About the ſame time (viz. 1623) a ſettlement was begun at the river Piſcataqua, by Captain Maſon, and ſeveral other merchants, among whom Gorges had a ſhare. The principal deſign of theſe ſettlements was, to eſtabliſh a permanent fiſhery, to make ſalt, to trade with the natives, and to prepare lumber for exportation. Agriculture was but a ſecondary object, though in itſelf the true ſource of all opulence and all ſubſiſtence.

Theſe attempts proved very expenſive and yielded no adequate returns. The aſſociates were diſcouraged, and dropped off one after another, till none but Gorges and Maſon remained. Much patience was neceſſary, but in this caſe it could be grounded only on enthuſiaſm. It was not poſſible in the nature of things that their intereſt ſhould be advanced

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ed by the manner in which they conducted their business. Their colonists came over either as tenants or as hired servants. The produce of the plantation could not pay their wages, and they soon became their own masters. The charge of making a settlement in such a wilderness was more than the value of the lands when the improvements were made: overseers were appointed, but they could not hold the tenants under command; nor prevent their changing places on every discontent: The proprietors themselves never came in person to superintend their interests, and no regular government was established to punish offenders or preserve order. For these reasons though Gorges and Mason expended from first to last more than *twenty thousand pounds* each, yet they only opened the way for others to follow, and the money was lost to them and their posterity.*

Whilst their private interest was thus sinking in America, the reputation of the council of which were members lay under such disadvantage in England as tended to endanger their political existence. As they had been incorporated for the purpose, not merely of granting

* See History of New-Hampshire, vol. i. Chap. i. ii.

granting lands, but of making actual plantations in America, they were fond of encouraging all attempts, from whatever quarter, which might realize their views and expectations.

The ecclesiastical government at this time allowed no liberty to scrupulous consciences; for which reason many who had hitherto been peaceable members of the national church, and wished to continue such, finding that no indulgence could be granted, turned their thoughts toward America where some of their brethren had already made a settlement. They first purchased of the council of Plymouth a large territory, and afterward obtained of the crown a charter, by which they were constituted a body politic within the realm. In June 1630 they brought their charter to America, and began the colony of *Massachusetts*. This proved an effectual settlement, and the reasons which rendered it so were the the zeal and ardour which animated their exertions; the wealth which they possessed, and which they converted into materials for a new plantation; but principally the *presence* of the adventurers themselves, on the spot, where their fortunes were to be expended and their zeal exerted.

The

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The difference between a man's doing buſineſs by himſelf, and by his ſubſtitutes, was never more fairly exemplified than in the conduct of the Maſſachuſetts planters, compared with that of Sir Ferdinando Gorges: what the one had been labouring for, above twenty years without any ſucceſs, was realized by the others in two or three years; in five, they were ſo far advanced as to be able to ſend out a colony from themſelves to begin another at Connecticut; and in leſs than ten, they founded an Univerſity which has ever ſince produced an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſerviceable men in church and ſtate.

The great number of people who flocked to this new plantation, raiſed an alarm in England. As they had manifeſted their diſcontent with the eccleſiaſtical government, it it was ſuſpected that they aimed at *independence*, and would throw off their allegiance to the crown. This jealouſy was ſo ſtrong, that a royal order was made to reſtrain any from coming hither who ſhould not firſt take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and obtain a licence for their removal.

To refute this jealous cavil againſt the planters of New-England, we need only to obſerve,

ſerve, that at the time when they began their ſettlement, and for many years after, the lands which they occupied were objects of envy both to the Dutch and French. The Dutch claimed from Hudſon, as far as Connecticut river, where they had erected a trading houſe. The French claimed all the lands of New England; and the Governour of Port Royal, when he wrote to Governour Winthrop, directed his letters to him as *Governour of the Engliſh at Boſton in Acadia*. Had the New England planters thrown off their ſubjection to the crown of England they muſt have become a prey to one or the other of theſe rival powers. Of this they were well aware, and if they had entertained any idea of independency, which they certainly did not *(nor did their ſucceſſors till driven to it by Britain herſelf)* it would have been the moſt impolitic thing in the world to have avowed it, in the preſence of neighbours with whom they did not wiſh to be connected.

This jealouſy, however groundleſs, had an influence on the public councils of the nation, as well as on the ſentiments of individuals, and contributed to increaſe the prejudice which had been formed againſt all who were con-

cerned

cerned in the colonization of New England. The merchants ſtill conſidered the Council of Plymouth, as monopolizing a lucrative branch of trade. The South Virginia company, diſreliſhed their excluſive charter, and ſpared no pains to get it revoked. The popular party in the commons regarded them as ſupporters of the prerogative, and under the royal influence.* The high church party were incenſed againſt them as enemies of prelacy, becauſe they had favoured the ſettlement of the Puritans within their territory: and the King himſelf ſuſpected that the colonies in New England had too much liberty to conſiſt with his notions of government. Gorges was looked upon as the author of all the miſchief; and being publicly called upon, declared, "that though he had earneſtly ſought the intereſt of the plantations, yet he could not anſwer for the evils which had happened by them." It was extremely mortifying to him to find that after all his exertions and expenſes in the ſervice of the nation, he had become a very unpopular character, and had enemies on all ſides.

To

* This manifeſtly appears from the grant which they were obliged to make to Sir William Alexander, of the country of Nova Scotia, by virtue of a meſſage from the King, which they conſidered as a command. This grant was confirmed to him by the King, and he ſold it to the French.

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To remedy these difficulties, he projected the resignation of the charter to the crown; and the division of the territory into twelve lordships, to be united under one General Governour. As the charter of Massachusetts stood in the way of this project, he, in conjunction with Mason, petitioned the crown for a revocation of it. This brought on him the ill will of those colonists also, who from that time regarded him and Mason as their enemies. Before the council surrendered their charter, they made grants to some of their own members, of twelve districts, from Maryland to St. Croix, among which the district from Piscataqua to Sagadahock, extending one hundred and twenty miles northward into the country, was assigned to Gorges. In June 1635, the council resigned their charter, and petitioned the King and the lords of the privy council for a confirmation of the several proprietary grants, and the establishment of a general government. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then three score years of age, was the person nominated to be the General Governor. About this time, Mason, one of the principal actors in this affair, was removed by death: and a ship, which was intended for the service of the new government,

fell

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fell and broke in launching. A *quo warranto* was issued against the Massachusetts charter, but the proceedings upon it were delayed, and never completed. An order of the King in council, was also issued in 1637, for the establishment of the general government, and Gorges was therein appointed Governour; but the troubles in Scotland and England, at this time grew very serious and put a check to the business. Soon after, Archbishop Laud and some other lords of council, who were zealous in the affair, lost their authority, and the whole project came to nothing.

Gorges however, obtained of the crown in 1639, a confirmation of his own grant, which was styled the *Province of Maine*, and of which he was made Lord Palatine with the same powers and privileges as the bishop of Durham in the County Palatine of Durham. In virtue of these powers, he constituted a government within his said province, and incorporated the plantation at Agamenticus into a city, by the name of *Gorgeana*, of which his cousin, Thomas Gorges, was Mayor, who resided there about two years, and then returned to England. The council for the administration of government were Sir Thomas

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Josselyn, Knight, Richard Vines, (Steward) Francis Champernoon (a nephew to Gorges,) Henry Josselyn, Richard Boniton, William Hooke, and Edward Godfrey.

The plan which he formed for the government of his province was this: It was to be divided into eight counties, and these into sixteen hundreds, the hundreds were to be subdivided into parishes and tythings, as the people should increase. In the absence of the proprietor a lieutenant was to preside. A chancellor was constituted for the decision of civil causes; a treasurer to receive the revenue, a marshal for managing the militia, and a marshal's court, for criminal matters; an admiral, and admiral's court, for maritime causes; a master of ordnance and a secretary. These officers were to be a standing council. Eight deputies were to be elected, one from each county, by the inhabitants, to sit in the same council; and all matters of moment were to be determined by the lieutenant with advice of the majority. This council were to appoint justices, to give licences for the sale of lands *subject to a rent of four pence or six pence per acre.* When any law was to be enacted or repealed, or public money to be raised, they

they were to call on the counties to elect each two deputies, "to join with the council in the performance of the service;" but nothing is said of their voting as a separate house. One lieutenant and eight justices were allowed to each county; two head constables to every hundred; one constable and four tythingmen to every parish; and in conformity to the institutions of King Alfred, each tythingman was to give an account of the demeanor of the families within his tything, to the constable of the parish, who was to render the same to the head constables of the hundred, and they to the lieutenant and justices of the county; who were to take cognizance of all misdemeanors; and from them an appeal might be made to the proprietor's lieutenant and council.

Forms of government, and plans of settlement, are much more easily drawn on paper, than carried into execution. Few people could be induced to become tenants in the neighbourhood of such a colony as Massachusetts, where *all were freeholders*. No provision was made for public institutions; schools were unknown, and they had no ministers, till in pity to their deplorable state, two went thither from Boston on a voluntary mission,

and were well received by them. The city of Gorgeana, though a lofty name, was in fact but an inconsiderable village; and there were only a few houses in some of the best places for navigation. The people were without order and morals, and it was said of some of them, that "they had as many shares in a *woman*, as they had in a fishing boat."* Gorges himself complained of the prodigality of his servants, and had very little confidence in his own sons, for whose aggrandizement he had been labouring to establish a foundation. He had indeed erected saw mills and corn mills, and had received some acknowledgment in the way of rents, but lamented, that he had not reaped the "happy success of those who are *their own* stewards, and the disposers of *their own* affairs."

How long Gorges continued in his office as Governour of Plymouth, does not appear from any materials within my reach. In 1625, he commanded a ship of war in a squadron under the Duke of Buckingham, which was sent to the assistance of France, under pretence of being employed against the Genoese. But a suspicion having arisen that they were

destined

* Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, p. 424.

destined to assist Louis against his protestant subjects at Rochelle; as soon as they were arrived at Dieppe, and found that they had been deceived, Gorges was the first to break his orders and return with his ship to England. The others followed his example, and their zeal for the Protestant religion was much applauded.*

When the civil dissensions in England broke out into a war, Gorges took the royal side; and, though then far advanced in years, engaged personally in the service of the crown. He was in Prince Rupert's army at the siege of Bristol in 1643; and when that city was retaken in 1645 by the parliament's forces, he was plundered and imprisoned.† His political principles rendered him obnoxious to the ruling powers, and when it was necessary for him to appear before the commissioners for foreign plantations, he was severely frowned upon, and consequently discouraged.

The time of his death is uncertain; he is spoken of in the records of the Province of Maine as dead in June 1647. Upon his decease, his estate fell to his eldest son, John Gorges,

* Hume.

† Josselyn says that he was *several times* plundered and imprisoned. p. 197.

Gorges, who, whether discouraged by his father's ill success, or incapacitated by the severity of the times, took no care of the province, nor do we find any thing memorable concerning him. Most of the commissioners who had been appointed to govern the province deserted it; and the remaining inhabitants in 1649, were obliged to combine for their own security. In 1651, they petitioned the Council of State that they might be considered as part of the commonwealth of England. The next year, upon the request of a great part of the inhabitants, the colony of Massachusetts took them under their protection, being supposed to be within the limits of their charter; some opposition was made to this step; but the majority submitted or acquiesced; and considering the difficulties of the times, and the unsettled state of affairs in England, this was the best expedient for their security.

On the death of John Gorges, the propriety descended to his son Ferdinando Gorges, of Westminster, who seems to have been a man of information and activity. He printed a description of New England in 1658, to which he annexed a narrative written by his grandfather;

father; from which this account is chiefly compiled; but another piece which in some editions is tacked to these, entitled "Wonder working Providences," was unfairly ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, though written by a Mr. Johnson of Woburn in New England.

On the restoration of King Charles II. Gorges petitioned the crown, complaining of the Massachusetts colony for usurping the government of Maine, and extending their boundary lines. In 1664, commissioners were sent to America, who finding the people in the Province of Maine divided in their opinions with respect to matters of government, appointed justices in the King's name to govern them; and about the same time the proprietor nominated thirteen commissioners and prepared a set of instructions which were entered on the records of the province. But upon the departure of the royal commissioners the colony resumed its jurisdiction over them. These two sources of government kept alive two parties, each of whom were always ready to complain of the other and justify themselves.

An inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts had been instituted in England, and the

colony was ordered to send over agents to answer the complaints of Gorges, and Mason, the proprietor of New Hampshire, who had jointly proposed to sell their property to the crown to make a government for the Duke of Monmouth. This proposal not being accepted, the colony themselves took the hint, and thought the most effectual way of silencing the complaint would be, to make a purchase. The circumstances of the Province of Maine were such as to favour their views. The Indians had invaded it, most of the settlements were destroyed or deserted, and the whole country was in trouble; the colony had afforded them all the assistance which was in their power, and they had no help from any other quarter. In the height of this calamity John Usher, Esq. was employed to negociate with Mr. Gorges for the purchase of the whole territory, which was effected in the year 1677. The sum of *twelve hundred and fifty pounds* sterling was paid for it, and it has ever since been a part of Massachusetts. It is now formed into two counties, York and Cumberland; but the *District* of Maine, as established by the laws of the United States,

comprehends

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comprehends also the counties of Lincoln, Washington, and Hancock; extending from Piscataqua to St. Croix; a territory large enough, when fully peopled, to be formed into a distinct state.

XV. HENRY

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XV. HENRY HUDSON.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fruitless attempts, which had been made, to find a passage to India, by the north, the idea was not given up; but it was supposed, that under the direction of some prudent, resolute and experienced commander, the object might yet be attained. A society of wealthy and sanguine adventurers, in England, believed the practicability of the passage; and with a resolution and liberality almost unexampled, raised the money to carry on this expensive undertaking. They gave the command of the expedition, to HENRY HUDSON, a seaman of enlarged views and long experience; in whose knowledge and intrepidity they could safely confide; and whose enterprizing spirit was exceeded by none, and equalled by few of his contemporaries.*

When the ship, which they had destined for the voyage, was ready, Hudson with his crew, according to the custom of seamen in that day, went to church on April 19, 1607, and there partook of the Lord's Supper.† On the

* Forster's northern voyages p. 224.
† Purchas iv. 567.

the first of May, he sailed from Gravesend; and on the 21st of June, discovered land, in lat. 73°, on the eastern coast of Greenland, which he called *Hold with Hope*.

His design was, to explore the whole coast of Greenland, which he supposed to be an island; and, if possible, to pass round it, to the northwest; or else directly under the pole. But having sailed as far as the latitude of 82°, he found the sea obstructed by impenetrable ice; and was obliged to return to England; where he arrived on the 15th of September.

By this voyage, more of the eastern coast of Greenland was explored, than had ever before been known; and the island, afterward called Spitzbergen, was first discovered. It also opened the way to the English, and after them to the Dutch, to prosecute the whale fishery in those northern seas.

The next year,* the same company of adventurers resolved to make another attempt, and sent Hudson again, to find a passage by the northeast. He sailed on the 22d of April 1608. The highest latitude, to which he advanced in this voyage, was 75° 30′. After having made several attempts, to pass between

* Purchas iv, p. 574.

tween Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, which he found impracticable; the season was so far spent, and the winds so contrary, that he had not time to try the strait of Waygats, nor Lumley's Inlet; and therefore thought it his "duty, to save victual, wages and tackle, by a speedy return." He arrived at Gravesend on the 20th of August.*

After his return from his second voyage, he went over to Holland and entered into the service of the Dutch. Their East India company fitted out a ship for discovery, and put him into the command.† He sailed from Amsterdam on the 25th of March 1609.‡

The

* In the journal of this voyage, written by Hudson himself, is the following remark. "June 15, lat. 75° 7′, this morning one of our company looking overboard saw a *mermaid*, and calling up some of the company to see her, one more came up, and by that time, she was come close to the ship's side, looking earnestly on the men. A little after, a sea came and overturned her. From the navel upward, her back and breasts were like a woman; (as they say that saw her) her body as big as one of us; her skin very white; and long hair hanging down behind, of colour black. In her going down, they saw her tail, which was like the tail of a porpoise, and speckled like a mackarel. Their names that saw her were Thomas Hilles and Robert Rayner." Purchas iv. 575.

† This is said on the authority of Dr. Forster. The journal says nothing of it. It was written by Robert Juet, his mate. ibid. 581.

‡ Smith, in his history of New York, following Oldmixon and other second hand authorities, places this voyage in 1608. But as the journals of Hudson's four voyages are extant in Purchas, I take all dates from him.

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The highest latitude which he made in this voyage was 71° 46′; where he found the sea in the neighbourhood of Nova Zembla so filled with ice, and covered with fogs, that it was impossible to pass the strait of Waygats to the eastward. He therefore tacked and steered westerly, toward Greenland; intending to fall in with Buss Island, which had been seen by one of Frobisher's ships in 1578; but when he came into the latitude where it was laid down, he could not find it.

He then steered southwesterly; passed the banks of Newfoundland among the French ships which were fishing, without speaking with any of them; and sailed along the coast of America. In this route he discovered Cape Cod and landed there; then pursued his course to the south and west; making remarks on the soundings and currents, till he came to the entrance of Chesapeak bay. Here he plied off and on for several days, and then turned again to the northward.

In his return along the coast, on the 28th of August he discovered the great bay, now called Delaware, in the latitude of 39° 5′. In this bay he examined the soundings and

currents,

currents, and the appearance of the land; but did not go on shore.

From this bay, passing along a low marshy coast skirted with broken islands, on the 2d of September he saw high hills to the northward; which I suppose were the Neversinks in New Jersey.

On the 4th of September, he came to anchor in "a very good harbour" in the latitude 40° 30′, which is the bay within Sandy Hook. On the 6th, the boat was sent to survey what appeared to be the mouth of a river, distant four leagues. This was the strait called the Narrows, between Long Island and Staten Island; here was a good depth of water; and within was a large opening, and a narrow river, to the west; the channel between Bergen Neck and Staten Island. As the boat was returning, it was attacked by some of the natives, in two canoes. One man, John Colman, was killed; he was buried on a point of land, which, from that circumstance, was called Colman's point. It is probably Sandy Hook, within which the ship lay.

On the 11th, they sailed through the Narrows, and found a "good harbour secure from all winds." The next day, they turned against a N. W.

a N. W. wind into the mouth of the river, which bears Hudson's name; and came to anchor two leagues within it. On these two days, they were visited by the natives, who brought corn, beans, oysters and tobacco. They had pipes of copper, in which they smoked; and earthen pots, in which they dressed their meat. Hudson would not suffer them to stay on board by night.

From the 12th to the 19th of September, he sailed up the river, which he found about a mile wide, and of a good depth, abounding with fish, among which were "great store of salmons." As he advanced, the land on both sides was high, till it became very mountainous. This "high land had many points, the channel was narrow, and there were many eddy winds."

From a careful enumeration of the computed distances, in each day's run, as set down in the journal, it appears that Hudson sailed fifty three leagues. To this distance, the river was navigable for the ship; the boat went up eight or ten leagues farther, but found the bottom irregular, and the depth not more than seven feet. It is evident therefore that he

he penetrated this river, as far as where the city of Albany now ſtands.

The farther he went up the river, the more friendly and hoſpitable the natives appeared. They gave him ſkins in exchange for knives and other trifles. But as he came down, below the mountains, the ſavages were thievish and troubleſome, which occaſioned frequent quarrels, in which eight or nine of them were killed. The land on the eaſtern ſide of the river near its mouth, was called *Manahata*.

On the 4th of October he came out of the river; and without anchoring in the bay, ſtood out to ſea; and ſteering directly for Europe, on the 7th of November arrived "in the range of Dartmouth in Devonſhire." Here the journal ends.

The diſcoveries made by Hudſon, in this remarkable voyage, were of great mercantile conſequence to his employers. It has been ſaid, that he "ſold the country, or rather his right to it, to the Dutch."* This however is queſtionable. The ſovereigns of England and France laid equal claim to the country, and it is a matter which requires ſome diſcuſſion, whether the Hollanders were, at that time, ſo far

* Smith's hiſtory of New York, p. 14. Carey's edition.

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far admitted into the community of nations, as to derive rights which would be acknowledged by the other European powers.* However, whilst they were struggling for existence among the nations, they were growing rich by their mercantile adventures; and this capital discovery, made at their expense, was a source of no small advantage to them. They had, for some time before, cast an eye on the fur trade; and had even bribed some Frenchmen, to admit them into the traffic at Acadia and St. Lawrence. The discovery of Hudson's river, gave them at once, an entrance of above fifty leagues into the heart of the American continent; in a situation, where the best furs could be procured without any interruption from either the French or the English. The place indeed lay within the claim of both these nations: Acadia extended from the latitude of 40° to 48°; and Virginia from 34° to 45°; but the French had made several fruitless attempts to pass southward of Cape Cod; and had but just begun their plantations at Acadia and St. Lawrence. The English had made some efforts to establish colonies in Virginia, one of which

* Chalmers' Annals. 568.

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which was ſtruggling for exiſtence, and others had failed, both in the ſouthern and northern diviſion. Beſides, King James, by a ſtroke of policy *peculiar to himſelf*, in dividing Virginia, between the North and South Companies, had *interlocked* each patent with the other; and at the ſame time *interdicted* the patentees from planting within one hundred miles of each other.* This uncertainty, concurring with other cauſes, kept the adventurers at ſuch a diſtance, that the intermediate country, by far the moſt valuable, lay expoſed to the intruſions of foreigners; none of whom knew better than the Dutch, how to avail themſelves of the ignorance or inattention of their neighbours, in the purſuit of gain.

But whether it can, at this time, be determined or not, by what means the Hollanders acquired a title to the country; certain it is, that they underſtood and purſued the advantage which this diſcovery opened to them. Within four years, a fort and trading houſe were erected on the ſpot where Albany is now built; and another fort on the S. W. point of the iſland, where the city of New-York now

* See page 41, 42. See alſo Hazard's Collection, vol. 1, page 50.

now ſtands; by a company of Merchants, who had procured from the States General a patent for an excluſive trade to Hudſon's river.

The tranſactions between Hudſon and his Dutch employers are not ſtated in the accounts of his voyages. Dr. Forſter ſays that he offered to undertake another voyage in their ſervice, but that they declined it, upon which he returned to England; and again entered into the ſervice of the Company, who had before employed him.

The former attempts for a northern paſſage having been made in very high latitudes, it was now determined, to ſeek for one, by paſſing to the weſtward of Greenland, and examining the inlets of the American continent. For this purpoſe a ſhip was fitted out, and the command was given to Hudſon; but, unhappily, the Company inſiſted that he ſhould take with him as an aſſiſtant, one Colburne, a very very able and experienced ſeaman. Their great confidence in Colburne's ſkill excited Hudſon's envy; and after the ſhip had fallen down the river, he put him on board a pink, bound up to London, with a letter to the owners, containing the reaſons of his con-

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duct; and then proceeded on his voyage. [April 22, 1610.] This rash step gave the crew an example of disobedience, which was so severely retaliated on himself, as to prove the cause of his ruin.

He went round the north of Scotland, through the Orkney and Faro islands, and on the 11th of May made the eastern part of Iceland. Sailing along its southern shore, in sight of the volcanic mountain Hecla, he put into a harbour in the western part of the island; where he met with a friendly reception from the inhabitants; but found great dissensions among his crew, which he could not appease without much difficulty.

Having doubled the southern promontory of Greenland, he steered N. W. for the American continent. In this passage he was so entangled with floating ice, that he almost despaired of getting clear. But at length, with much labour and peril, he forced his way through the strait and into the bay which bear his name. The farther he advanced, the greater were the murmurings among his men. He removed his mate and boatswain and put others into their places. This discipline not only rendered him more unpopular; but inflamed the displaced officers with bitter resentment against him.

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The whole ſummer having been ſpent, in examining the eaſtern and ſouthern extremities of the deep and extenſive bay, which he had diſcovered; in October it was too late to return; the diſcovery was yet incomplete, and he was loth to leave it. He had taken but half a year's proviſion from England. It was therefore neceſſary to huſband what was left, and procure more by hunting; which was done in great plenty, by reaſon of the numerous flights of fowl, which ſucceeded each other through the winter.

In November the ſhip was frozen up. Soon after the gunner died, and a controverſy took place about dividing his clothes. Hudſon was partial to Henry Green, a young man of a debauched character, whom he had taken on board; and whoſe name was not on the ſhip's books. This young man ungenerouſly took part with the diſcontented, and loſt Hudſon's favour.

They had to ſtruggle with a ſevere winter, and bad accommodations, which produced ſcorbutic and rheumatic complaints. Theſe were relieved by a decoction of the buds of a tree filled with a balſamic juice; the liquor was drank, and the buds applied to the ſwelled joints. This is ſuppoſed to have been the *Populus balſamifera*.

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When the ſpring came on, the birds diſappeared, and their proviſions fell ſhort. To ſtill the clamour among the diſcontented, Hudſon injudiciouſly divided the remaining ſtores, into equal ſhares, and gave each man his portion; which ſome devoured at once and others preſerved.

The ſhip being afloat, he began to ſail toward the N. W. to purſue the object of his voyage; when, (June 21, 1611) a conſpiracy which had been ſometime in fermentation, broke out into open mutiny. The diſplaced mate and boatſwain, accompanied by the infamous Green and others, roſe and took command of the ſhip. They put Hudſon, his ſon, the carpenter, the mathematician, and five others, moſt of whom were ſick and lame, into the ſhallop; with a ſmall quantity of meal, one gun and ammunition, two or three ſpears and an iron pot; and then with the moſt ſavage inhumanity turned them adrift. This is the laſt account of Hudſon. Whether he, with his unhappy companions, perished by the ſea, by famine, or by the ſavages, is unknown.

The conſpirators put the ſhip about to the eaſtward and haſted to get out of the bay. Near Cape Digges, they met with ſeven canoes of the ſavages, by whom they were attacked.

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The perfidious Green was killed, and three others wounded, of whom two died in a few days. The miserable remnant, pursued their course homeward, and suffered much by famine; but at length arrived in Ireland, and from thence got to England.

This account of the unfortunate end of Hudson and the return of the ship, is taken from a narrative written by Abacuc Pricket,* whom the mutineers preserved, in hope that by his connexion with Sir Dudley Digges, one of the owners, they should obtain their pardon.

The most astonishing circumstance in this horrid act of cruelty, is the oath, by which the conspirators bound themselves to execute their plot; the form of it is preserved by Pricket, and is in these words.

"You shall swear truth, to GOD, your Prince and Country; you shall do nothing but to the Glory of GOD, and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man." It is to be hoped, that the absurdity, hypocrisy, and blasphemy of this transaction will ever be unparalleled in the history of human depravity!

* Purchas, iv, 1771.

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POSTSCRIPT.

THE author is so much indebted to HAKLUYT and PURCHAS, that he thinks it but just to give some account of them and their writings.

RICHARD HAKLUYT, Prebendary of Westminster, was born in Herefordshire, 1553. He early turned his attention to geography, and read lectures in that science at Oxford, where he was educated, and where he introduced maps and globes, into the public schools. In 1582 he published a small collection of voyages and discoveries; and going two years after as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford ambassador to France, he there met with and published a M. S. entitled, *The Notable History of Florida, by Laudonnierre and other Adventurers.* He returned to England in 1588, when he applied himself to collect, translate and digest all the voyages, journals and letters that he could procure, which he published first in one volume, 1589, to which he afterward added two others, and reprinted the first in 1599, and 1600. He was a man of indefatigable diligence and great integrity; much in favour with Queen Elizabeth's ministry, and largely conversant with

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with ſeamen. He died in 1616, and his manuſcripts fell into the hands of Mr. Purchas.

[Wood and Northouck.]

A complete ſet of Hakluyt's Voyages is in the library of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society.

SAMUEL PURCHAS was born at Thackſtead in Eſſex, 1577, and educated at Cambridge. He was firſt vicar of Eaſtwood in Eſſex, then rector of St. Martin's London. He publiſhed a folio volume entitled, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions obſerved, in all Ages and Places*, &c. The *third* edition of it, is dated 1617. When Mr. Hakluyt's papers fell into his hands he compiled four other volumes, which were printed 1625; they are entitled, *Purchas his Pilgrims*. Part i, ii, iii, iv. The whole makes a ſet of five volumes. They conſiſt of journals, letters, narratives, tranſlations and abridgements, comprehending all the travels and diſcoveries made in all parts of the world, and are, with Hakluyt's work, the largeſt and moſt authentic collection of the kind, extant for that time. By the publiſhing of this voluminous work, Purchas brought himſelf into

debt;

debt; and it has been said that he died in prison; but Northouck says he died in his own house in London, 1628.

A complete set of Purchas's Pilgrims is in the library of Harvard College.

ERRATA.

Page 7. note § read—sailing *westward* saw the *meridian* sun on the right hand.—38, dele the marginal note.—186, line 4, from bottom, for heard read *herd*.—190, line 6, for Mabille read *Mobille*.—208, note, line 4, for about, read *a boat*.—220, line 4, from bottom, dele the first *of*.—222, line 6, after weed insert *in*.—363, line 6, from bottom, read *imitare*.

The

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The SUCCESSION *of* SOVEREIGNS *of the* EUROPEAN NATIONS *who have had* POSSESSIONS *or* CONNEXIONS *in* AMERICA.

A. D.	ENGLAND.
1485	Henry VII.
1509	Henry VIII.
1547	Edward VI.
1553	Mary.
1558	Elizabeth.
1603	James I.
1625	Charles I.
1648	Commonwealth.
1653	O. Cromwell.
1658	R. Cromwell.
1660	Charles II.
1685	James II.
1688	William and Mary
1694	William III.
1701	Anne.
1714	George I.
1727	George II.
1760	George III.

A. D.	FRANCE.
1483	Charles VIII.
1498	Lewis XII.
1515	Francis I.
1547	Henry II.
1559	Francis II.
1560	Charles IX.
1574	Henry II.
1589	Henry IV.
1610	Lewis XIII.
1643	Lewis XIV.
1715	Lewis XV.
1773	Lewis XVI.
1792	Republic.

A. D.	SPAIN.
1474	Ferdinand V. and Isabella
1504	Philip I.
1516	Charles } I. King / V. Emp.
1556	Philip II.
1598	Philip III.
1621	Philip IV.
1665	Charles II.
1700	Philip V.
1746	Ferdinand VI.
1759	Charles III.
1789	Charles IV.

A. D.	PORTUGAL.
1481	John II.
1495	Emanuel.
1521	John III.
1557	Sebastian.
1578	Henry.
1580	Philip II. } of Spain and Portugal.
1598	Philip III. } of Spain and Portugal.
1621	Philip IV. } of Spain and Portugal.
1640	John IV.
1656	Alphonso VI.
1667	Peter.
1704	John V.
1750	Joseph.
1777	Maria Frances Isabella.

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